Serfojee Rajah 1829

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

1463

BRITISH COLONIES

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ. F.R.S. S.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF

The Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

BOOK IV.

PRESENT INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

Summary account of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Iſlands.—Claſſes.—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.—Predominant character of the European reſidents.—Creoles or Natives.—Effect of climate.—Character of the Creole Women and Children.—Of the people of Colour, and their different tribes or caſts.—Limitations and reſtrictions on the Mulattoes and native Blacks of free condition.—Their character at length, concluding with an Ode to the Sable Venus.

THE preſent ſtate (1791) of the population in the Britiſh Weſt Indies appears, on a ſummary of the ſeveral accounts given in former parts of this work, to be as follows, viz. CHAP. I.

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	Whites.		Blacks.
Jamaica - -	30,000	—	250,000
Barbadoes - -	16,167	—	62,115
Grenada - -	1,000	—	23,926
St. Vincent -	1,450	—	11,853
Dominica - -	1,236	—	14,967
Antigua - -	2,590	—	37,808
Montſerat - -	1,300	—	10,000
Nevis - - - -	1,000	—	8,420
St. Chriſtopher's	1,900	—	20,435
Virgin Iſles - -	1,200	—	9,000
Bahamas - -	2,000	—	2,241
Bermudas - -	5,462	—	4,919
Total -	65,305	—	455,684

There is likewiſe, in each of the Iſlands, a conſiderable number of perſons, of mixed blood, and Native Blacks, of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have ſhewn, at ten thouſand; and I have reaſon to believe they do not fall ſhort of the ſame number in all the other Iſlands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great claſſes. 1. European Whites; 2. Creole or Native Whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free Native Blacks; 4. Negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery. I ſhall treat of each claſs ſeparately; premiſing, however, that there are perſons not comprehended in either claſs; ſuch as emigrants

emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almoſt every privilege poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian Whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections; of being returned to ſerve in the aſſembly, and of holding any office of magiſtracy; but they have the liberty of purchaſing and holding lands, as freely as any other people; and they are likewiſe allowed the publick exerciſe of their religion; for which purpoſe they have erected two or more ſynagogues; and I have not heard that Jamaica has had any reaſon to repent of her liberality towards them. As, however, they differ but little in manners and cuſtoms from the reſt of their nation which are diſperſed in all the countries of Europe, I ſhall paſs them by, without further detail. The other White Inhabitants, not comprehended in this enumeration, are too few to merit particular notice *(a)*.

It

(a) The following account of the White Inhabitants, Free-Negroes, and Slaves, in the French Weſt Indies, may ſerve to gratify curioſity. It is taken from the authority of Monſ. Neckar; but I have reaſon to think that the Negro Slaves are nearly doubled in the French Iſlands ſince this account was taken.

	Whites.	Free Blacks, &c.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779	32,650	7,055	249,098
Martinico, in 1776	11,619	2,892	71,268
Guadaloupe, in 1779	13,261	1,382	85,327

St.

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It may reasonably be supposed that most of the natives of Europe who emigrate to the West Indies, remove thither with the hope of receiving greater encouragement to their abilities and industry than has offered at home. Yet let it not be imagined that the major, or even any considerable part, of them are desperate and needy adventurers, who seek refuge from a prison, or expatriate themselves in the fond idea of living luxuriously without labour. These Islands give but little countenance to idleness, nor offer any asylum to vagabonds and fugitives. Many of the British Colonies were originally composed of men who sought, in the wildernesses of the New World, the peaceable enjoyment of those natural or supposed rights of which they were deprived in their native country. I extend this description to persons of opposite political sentiments and connections, to loyalists as well as to republicans: for it is hoped that some of each party were men whose principles were honest, though their conduct might have been wrong. The advocates of loyalty sought refuge chiefly in Barbadoes, and

St. Lucia, in 1776	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago, supposed to be nearly the same as St. Lucia	2,397	1,050	10,752
Cayenne, in 1780	1,358	—	10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

many

many of the adherents of Cromwell, after the restoration of Charles II. found protection in Jamaica. At preſent, among the numbers whom accident or choice conducts to the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the juniors in the learned profeſſions of law, phyſick, and divinity, conſtitute a conſiderable body. Theſe men ought to be, and, generally ſpeaking, really are, perſons of education and morals. Few places afford greater encouragement to the firſt and ſecond of theſe employments; and, as ability is foſtered and called forth by exerciſe, no part of the Britiſh dominion has, in my opinion, produced abler men in either (in proportion to their number) than theſe iſlands. Local prejudice, and bigotry towards great names, may perhaps incline ſome perſons to diſpute this aſſertion; but, prejudice and bigotry apart, it will be found, I believe, that Nature has diſtributed the gifts of genius more equally and generally than is commonly imagined: it is cultivation and favour that ripen and bring them to perfection. The Britiſh Navy and Army likewiſe contribute conſiderably to the augmentation of the White Inhabitants. Individuals in both theſe profeſſions, either from the inducement of agreeable connections, which it would be ſtrange if many of them did not form in a long reſidence in theſe countries, or captivated by the new proſpects which open to their contemplation, very

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frequently quit the bufinefs of arms, and the dangers of a tempeftuous element, and become peaceful citizens and induftrious planters. Next to thefe may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, fuch as factors, ftore-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks; who are followed by tradefmen and artificers of various kinds, fuch as mill-wrights, carpenters, mafons, copperfmiths, and others; moft of whom, either through accident or neceffity, after fome years refidence, become adventurers in the foil. Then come the hufbndmen, or cultivators of the land, profeffedly fuch; who are commonly diftinguifhed by the appellation of managers, overfeers, and plantation book-keepers; and they conftitute a numerous body of people, compofed of men of all countries and characters; for, unfortunately, every enterprifing adventurer, who has either learned no particular trade, or has been brought up to one which is ufelefs in thefe regions, fancies himfelf capable of fpeedily acquiring all the various knowledge of the fugar planter, and the right management and government of his fellow-creatures, the Negroes; though in truth a more weighty charge in itfelf, and one more important in its confequences, can fcarcely fall to the lot of man.

I HAVE, I think, in a former place, affigned the caufes to which it is partly afcribable that emigrants from various parts of the mother-

 country,

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country, ſucceſſively conſtitute the bulk of the ſugar coloniſts; of whom it is certain that the major part retain, in a conſiderable degree, the manners and habits of life in which they were educated. Yet there are authors who affect to deſcribe the inhabitants of all the Weſt Indies, as a herd of criminals and convicts; and cite the ſtale crimes and violences of lawleſs men, a century ago, when theſe iſlands were the rendezvous of pirates and bucaniers, as a juſt repreſentation of the reigning colonial habits, manners, and diſpoſitions!

Calumnies ſo groſs, defeat themſelves by their abſurdity;—but although it is in the higheſt degree ridiculous to imagine that a voyage acroſs the Atlantick creates any ſudden or radical change in the human mind, yet, notwithſtanding what has been juſt obſerved concerning local manners and habits in the different claſſes of European ſettlers, it cannot be denied that there prevails beſides, ſomething of a marked and predominant character common to all the White reſidents.

Of this character it appears to me that the leading feature is an independent ſpirit, and a diſplay of conſcious equality throughout all ranks and conditions. The pooreſt White perſon ſeems to conſider himſelf nearly on a level with the richeſt, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom,

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which, in the countries of Europe, is feldom difplayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their fuperiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arifes, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and diftinction which are neceffarily attached even to the complexion of a White Man, in a country where the complexion, generally fpeaking, diftinguifhes freedom from flavery. Of the two great claffes of people in moft of thefe colonies, the Blacks outnumber the Whites in the proportion of feven to one. As a fenfe of common fafety therefore unites the latter in clofer ties than are neceffary among men who are differently fituated, fo the fame circumftance neceffarily gives birth among them to reciprocal dependance and refpect. Other caufes contribute to the fame end. "Where flavery" (fays a great judge of human nature) "is eftablifhed in "any part of the world, thofe who are free, are "by far the moft proud and jealous of their free-"dom. Freedom is to them not only an en-"joyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. "Not feeing there, that freedom, as in countries "where it is a common bleffing, may be united "with much abject toil, with great mifery, with "all the exterior of fervitude, liberty looks "among them like fomething that is more noble "and liberal. Thus the people of the Southern "Colonies (of America) are much more ftrongly, "and

" and with a higher and more ſtubborn ſpirit, " attached to liberty, than thoſe to the North- " ward. Such were all the ancient common- " wealths; ſuch were our Gothick anceſtors; " ſuch in our days are the Poles; and ſuch will " be all maſters of ſlaves, who are not ſlaves " themſelves (c)."

Possibly too, the climate itſelf, by increaſing ſenſibility, contributes to create an impatience of ſubordination. But, whatever may be the cauſe of this conſciouſneſs of ſelf-importance in the Weſt Indian character, the conſequences reſulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it ſometimes produces an oſtentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of ſplendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propenſities of our nature—frankneſs, ſociability, benevolence, and generoſity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hoſpitality more generally prevalent, than in the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his gueſts. To be a ſtranger is of itſelf a ſufficient introduction. This ſpecies of hoſpitality is indeed carried ſo far, that, as Mr. Long has remarked, there is not one tolerable inn throughout all the Weſt Indies (d). To

(c) Burke's Speech in Parliament, 22 March, 1775.

(d) There are ſome peculiarities in the habits of life of the White Inhabitants, which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contraſt between

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To the same cause may perhaps be ascribed, on the other hand, that eagerness for litigation and juridical controversy, which so remarkably predominates in most of these Islands. From this unfortunate passion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage however results to the community at large; that the lower orders of men, from their frequent attendance at the courts of law as jurymen, acquire a degree of knowledge, and a clearness and precision of reasoning, which are not generally to

tween the general plenty and magnificence of their tables (at least in Jamaica) and the meanness of their houses and apartments; it being no uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters, a splendid sideboard loaded with plate, and the choicest wines, a table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all this, in a hovel not superior to an English barn. A stranger cannot fail also to observe a strange incongruity and inconsistency betweeen the great number of Negro domesticks, and their appearance and apparel. The butler (and he but seldom) is the only attendant that is allowed the luxury of shoes and stockings. All the others, and there is commonly one to each guest, wait at table in *barefooted majesty*; some of them perhaps half-naked. Another peculiarity in the manners of the English in the West-Indies (in Jamaica especially) is the number of nautical expressions in their conversation. Thus they say, *hand such a thing*, instead of bring or give it. A plantation well stocked with Negroes, is said to be *well handed*: an office or employment is called *a birth*; the kitchen is denominated the *cook-room*; a warehouse is called *a store*, or *store-room*; a sopha is called *a cot*; a waistcoat is termed *a jacket*; and in speaking of the East and West, they say to *windward* and *leeward*. This language has probably prevailed since the days of the bucaniers.

be

be found in men of the ſame rank in England. Thus the petty juries in the Weſt-Indies are commonly far more intelligent and reſpectable than thoſe in Great Britain. Every candid perſon, who has attended the courts of criminal juriſdiction in both countries, muſt confirm this obſervation.

But it is to the Creoles or Natives, that we muſt look for the original and peculiar caſt of character impreſſed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be ſuch as many writers imagine. For myſelf, I am of opinion that the climate of the Weſt Indies diſplays itſelf more ſtrongly on the perſons of the Natives, than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviouſly a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robuſt. I have known ſeveral who were full ſix feet four inches in height; but they wanted bulk, to meet our ideas of maſculine beauty. All of them, however, are diſtinguiſhed for the freedom and ſupleneſs of their joints; which enable them to move with great eaſe and agility, as well as gracefulneſs, in dancing. From the ſame cauſe they excel in penmanſhip, and the uſe of the ſmall ſword. It has been truly obſerved, that the effect of climate is likewiſe obvious in the ſtructure of the eye, the ſocket being conſiderably deeper than among the natives of Europe.

By

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By this conformation, they are guarded from thofe ill effects which an almoft continual ftrong glare of fun-fhine might otherwife produce; and it is a curious circumftance, that their fkin feels confiderably colder than that of a European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived fome peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which fhe has denied to the nations of temperate regions, as unneceffary. Accordingly, though their mode of living differs in no refpect from that of the European refidents, they are rarely obnoxious to thofe inflammatory diforders which frequently prove fatal to the latter.

The ladies of thefe Iflands have indeed greater caufe to boaft of this fortunate exemption, than the men; a pre-eminence acquired undoubtedly by the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and felf-denial. Except the exercife of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amufement or avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind. Thofe midnight affemblies and gambling conventions, wherein health, fortune, and beauty, are fo frequently facrificed in the cities of Europe, are here happily unknown. In their diet, the Creole women are, I think, abftemious even to a fault. Simple water, or lemonade, is the ftrongeft beverage in which they indulge; and a vegetable mefs at noon,

feafoned

ſeaſoned with cayenne pepper, conſtitutes their principal repaſt. The effect of this mode of life, in a hot and oppreſſive atmoſphere, is a lax fibre, and a complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the roſe. To a ſtranger newly arrived, the ladies appear as juſt riſen from the bed of ſickneſs. Their voice is ſoft and ſpiritleſs, and every ſtep betrays languor and laſſitude. With the fineſt perſons, they certainly want that glow of health in the countenance, that delicious crimſon *(lumen purpureum juventæ)* which, in colder countries, enlivens the coarſeſt ſet of features, and renders a beautiful one irreſiſtible.

Youth's orient bloom, the bluſh of chaſte deſire,
The ſprightly converſe, and the ſmile divine,
(Love's gentler train) to milder climes retire,
And full in Albion's matchleſs daughters ſhine.

In *one* of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies ſurpaſs the Creoles; for they have, in general, the fineſt eyes of any women in the world; large, languiſhing, and expreſſive; ſometimes beaming with animation, and ſometimes melting with tenderneſs; a ſure index to that native goodneſs of heart and gentleneſs of diſpoſition for which they are eminently and deſervedly applauded, and to which, combined with their ſyſtem of life and manners (ſequeſtered, domeſtick, and unobtruſive) it is doubtleſs

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lefs owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers (e).

PERHAPS, the circumftance moft diftinguifhable in the character of the Natives to which the climate feems to contribute, is the early difplay of the mental powers in young children; whofe quick perception, and rapid advances in knowledge, exceed thofe of European infants of the fame age, in a degree that is perfectly unaccountable and aftonifhing. This circumftance is indeed too ftriking to have efcaped the notice of any one writer who has vifited the tropical parts of America; and the fact being too well eftablifhed to be denied, the philofophers of Europe have confoled themfelves with an idea that, as the genius of the young Weft Indians attains fooner to maturity, it declines more rapidly than that of Europeans. Nature is fuppofed to act in this cafe in a manner analogous to her operations in the vegetable kingdom, where the trees that come fooneft to perfection, are at the fame time lefs firm and durable than thofe which require more time for the completion of their growth. It is indeed certain, that the fubfequent

(e) The Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preferve and keep beautifully white by a conftant ufe of the juice of a withe called the Chew-ftick; a fpecies of *rhamnus*. It is cut into fmall pieces, and ufed as a tooth-brufh. The juice is a ftrong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

acquirements

acquirements of the mind in the Natives, do not always keep pace with its early progreſs; but the chief cauſe (as Ulloa hath obſerved) of the ſhort duration of ſuch promiſing beginnings, ſeems to be the want of proper objects for exerciſing the faculties. The propenſity alſo, which the climate undoubtedly encourages, to early and habitual licentiouſneſs, induces a turn of mind and diſpoſition unfriendly to mental improvement. Among ſuch of the Natives as have happily eſcaped the contagion and enervating effects of youthful exceſſes, men are found of capacities as ſtrong and permanent, as among any people whatever.

As I cannot therefore admit that the Creoles in general poſſeſs leſs capacity and ſtability of mind than the natives of Europe, much leſs can I allow that they fall ſhort of them in thoſe qualities of the heart which render man a bleſſing to all around him. Generoſity to each other, and a high degree of compaſſion and kindneſs towards their inferiors and dependents, diſtinguiſh the Creoles in a very honourable manner *(f)*. If they are proud, their pride is allied to no mean-

" *(f)* Adventurers from Europe are univerſally more " cruel and moroſe towards the Slaves than the Creoles or " Native Weſt-Indians."

Ramſay, Eſſay on the Treatment and Converſion of the Slaves, &c.

neſs.

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neſs. Inſtructed from their infancy to entertain a very high opinion of their own conſequence, they are cautious of doing any act which may leſſen the conſciouſneſs of their proper dignity. From the ſame cauſe they ſcorn every ſpecies of concealment. They have a frankneſs of diſpoſition beyond any people on earth. Their confidence is unlimited and entire. Superior to falſehood themſelves, they ſuſpect it not in others.

How far this nobleneſs of diſpoſition may be aſcribed to the influence of a genial climate, and how far to education and example, I preſume not to diſcriminate. The effects of heat on the body are ſufficiently viſible; but perhaps Philoſophers have relied too much on a ſuppoſed ſympathy between the body and mind. "The Na-" tives of hot climates" (ſays one writer) "are "ſlothful and timid;" but timidity is by no means the neceſſary conſequence of indolence. The mind may require great force to rouſe it to due exertion; but, being properly urged, may diſplay qualities very oppoſite to thoſe of a timid diſpoſition. At leaſt, timidity conſtitutes no part of the character of the Natives of the Britiſh Weſt-Indies. Indolence, I admit, is too predominant among them; but that they are deficient in perſonal courage, no man, who has the ſmalleſt acquaintance with them, will allow for a moment.

Even

CHAP. I.

Even the indolence of which they are accufed, is rather an averfion to ferious thought and deep reflection, than a flothfulnefs and fluggifhnefs of nature. Both fexes, when the fprings of the mind are once fet in motion, are remarkable for a warm imagination and a high flow of fpirits. There feems indeed univerfally to reign among them a promptitude for pleafure. This effect has been afcribed, and perhaps juftly, to the levity of the atmofphere *(g)*. To the fame caufe is commonly imputed the propenfity obfervable in moft of the Weft Indians to indulge extravagant ideas of their riches; to view their circumftances through a magnifying medium, and to feaft their fancies on what another year will effect. This anticipation of imaginary wealth is fo prevalent as to become juftly ridiculous; yet I am inclined to think it is a propenfity that exifts independent of the climate and atmofphere, and that it arifes principally from the peculiar fituation of the Weft Indian Planters as land-holders. Not having, like the proprietors of landed eftates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to fubftantial tenants, they are, for the moft part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are, in the higheft degree, fluctuating and uncer-

(g) Mofeley on the Climate of the Weft Indies.

 tain.

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tain. Under these circumstances, a West-Indian property is a species of lottery, and as such, it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations;—too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment.

Such are the few observations which I have noted concerning the character, disposition, and manners of the White inhabitants of these islands. I proceed now to persons of mixed blood (usually termed *People of Colour)* and Native Blacks of free condition. Of the former, all the different classes, or varieties, are not easily discriminated. In the British West Indies they are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Quadroons*, and *Mestizes (h)*; but the Spaniards, from whom these appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer distinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Anthonio

(h) A *Sambo* is the offspring of a Black Woman by a Mulatto Man, or *vice versa*.

Mulatto — — of a Black Woman by a White Man.

Quadroon — — of a Mulatto Woman by a White Man.

Mestize or Mustee — of a Quadroon Woman by a White Man.

The offspring of a Mestize by a White Man are white by law. A Mestize therefore in our islands is, I suppose, the *Quinteron* of the Spaniards.

de

de Ulloa, in his deſcription of the inhabitants of Carthagena: CHAP. I.

"AMONG the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the Whites with the Negroes, the firſt are the *Mulattoes*; next to theſe are the *Tercerones*, produced from a White and a Mulatto, with ſome approximation to the former, but not ſo near as to obliterate their origin. After theſe, follow the *Quarterones*, proceeding from a White and a Terceron. The laſt are the Quinterons, who owe their origin to a White and Quarteron. This is the laſt gradation, there being no viſible difference between them and the Whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a White and Quinteron conſider themſelves as free from all taint of the Negro race. Every perſon is ſo jealous of the order of their tribe or caſt, that if, through inadvertence, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the claſs of the *Quinterones*, there are ſeveral intervening circumſtances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Samboes*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of theſe with an Indian, or among themſelves. Betwixt the Tercerones and Mulattoes, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are thoſe called

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Tente en el Ayre, Suspended in the air; because they neither advance nor recede. Children, whose parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are *Salto atras retrogrados*; because, instead of advancing towards being Whites, they have gone backwards towards the Negro race. The children between a Negro and a Quinteron, are called Sambos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c."

In Jamaica, and I believe in the rest of our Sugar Islands, the descendants of Negroes by White people, entitled by birth to all the rights and liberties of White subjects in the full extent, are such as are above three steps removed in lineal digression from the Negro venter. All below this, whether called Mestizes, Quadrons, or Mulattoes, are deemed by law Mulattoes.

Anciently there was a distinction in Jamaica between such of these people as were born of freed mothers (the maxim of the civil law, *partus sequiter ventrem*, prevailing in all our colonies) and such as had been immediately released from slavery by deed or testament of their owners. While the former were allowed a trial by jury in criminal cases, the latter were tried in the same way as the common slaves, by two justices and three freeholders. Neither were the latter admitted as evidences against free-born persons, until the year 1748, when an act was passed

passed in their favour, putting both classes on the same footing. CHAP. I.

At the same time, the legal capacities which they possessed, were very imperfectly defined: The Mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the freed Negroes, concerning whom (few of them being baptized, or supposed to be sensible of the nature of an oath) the courts of law interpreted the act of manumission by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment or release of his own proper authority over the person of the slave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty, the civil and political rights of a natural-born subject; and the same principle was applied to the issue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the Negro ancestor.

The principal incapacities to which these people are now subject, as distinct from the Whites, are these;

First; In most of the British Islands, their evidence is not received in criminal cases against a White person, nor even against a person of Colour, in whose favour a particular act has been passed by the legislature. In this respect they seem to be placed on a worse footing than the enslaved Negroes, who have masters that are interested in their protection, and who,

if their ſlaves are maltreated, have a right to re-cover damages, by an action on the caſe *.

SECONDLY; They are denied the privilege of being eligible to ſerve in parochial veſtries and general aſſemblies; or of acting in any office of publick truſt, even ſo low as that of a conſtable; neither are they permitted to hold commiſſions even in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia. They are precluded alſo from voting at elections of members to ſerve in the aſſembly. It may be urged, however, that the laws of England require baptiſm, and a certain degree of property, in ſimilar caſes.

THIRDLY; By an act of the aſſembly of Jamaica, paſſed in the year 1762, it is enacted, that a teſtamentary deviſe from a White perſon to a Negro or Mulatto, not born in wedlock, of real or perſonal eſtate, exceeding in value £. 2,000 currency, ſhall be void, and the property deſcend to the heir at law.

As ſome counterbalance however to theſe reſtrictions, the aſſembly, on proper application, is readily enough inclined to paſs private acts, granting the privileges of White people, with ſome limitations, to ſuch perſons of Colour as have been regularly baptized, and properly edu-

* In Jamaica, this grievance has been partly redreſſed ſince the publication of the former editions.

cated.

cated. On the ſame ground, private bills are ſometimes paſſed to authorize gentlemen of fortune, under particular circumſtances, to deviſe their eſtates to their reputed Mulatto children, notwithſtanding the act of 1762. CHAP. I.

But there is this miſchief ariſing from the ſyſtem of rigour oſtenſibly maintained by the laws againſt this unfortunate race of people; that it tends to degrade them in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the community to which they belong. This is carried ſo far, as to make them at once wretched to themſelves, and uſeleſs to the publick. It very frequently happens that the loweſt White perſon, conſidering himſelf as greatly ſuperior to the richeſt and beſt-educated Free man of Colour, will diſdain to aſſociate with a perſon of the latter deſcription; treating him as the Egyptians treated the Iſraelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread.* To this evil, ariſing from publick opinion, no partial interpoſition of the legiſlature in favour of individuals, affords an effectual remedy; and the conſequence is, that inſtead of a benefit, theſe unhappy people are a burthen and a reproach to ſociety. They have no motives of ſufficient efficacy either to engage them in the ſervice of their country, or in profitable labour for their own advantage. Their progreſs in civility and knowledge is animated by no encouragement; their attachment is re-

 ceived

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ceived without approbation; and their diligence exerted without reward *(i)*.

I AM happy however to aſſert with truth, that their fidelity and loyalty have hitherto remained unimpeached and unſuſpected. To the Negroes they are objects of envy and hatred; for the ſame or a greater degree of ſuperiority which the Whites aſſume over *them*, the free Mulattoes lay claim to over the Blacks. Theſe, again, abhor the idea of being ſlaves to the deſcendants of

(i) It would ſurely be a wiſe and humane law that ſhould grant to every free Negro and Mulatto, the right of being a competent witneſs, in all criminal caſes, and more eſpecially in thoſe of perſonal injury to himſelf *.—Perhaps indeed it might be proper to require of ſuch perſons the proof of baptiſm, and the ability to read and write; and I think that ſome uſeful regulations might be made to apportion greater privileges to the coloured people according to their approximation to the Whites; a ſyſtem which would not ſerve to confound, but to keep up and render uſeful thoſe diſtinctions which local cauſes have created, and which it is not in the power of man to aboliſh. To the Quadrons and Meſtizes for inſtance (who poſſeſs the neceſſary qualification in *real* property) I would grant the right of voting for repreſentatives in the aſſembly. Such a privilege would give them an intereſt in the community, and attach them powerfully to its government. In favour of ſuch perſons alſo, the act of 1762 might be modified. Whether it would be wiſe to repeal it altogether, is a deep and difficult queſtion. Men who are unacquainted with local manners and cuſtoms, are not competent to pronounce an opinion in this caſe.

* The Aſſembly of Jamaica have lately granted this privilege to the freed people in that Iſland.

ſlaves,

ſlaves. Thus circumſtanced, the general character of the Mulattoes is ſtrongly marked by the peculiarity of their ſituation; and I cannot but think that they are, on the whole, objects of favour and compaſſion.

In their deportment towards the White people they are humble, ſubmiſſive, and unaſſuming. Their ſpirits ſeems to ſink under the conſciouſneſs of their condition. They are accuſed however of proving bad maſters when inveſted with power; and their conduct towards their ſlaves is ſaid to be, in a high degree, harſh and imperious. I ſuſpect there is ſome truth in this repreſentation; for it is the general characteriſtick of human nature, that men whoſe authority is moſt liable to be diſputed, are the moſt jealous of any infringement of it, and the moſt vigilant in its ſupport.

The accuſation generally brought againſt the free people of Colour, is the incontinency of their women; of whom, ſuch as are young, and have tolerable perſons, are univerſally maintained by White men of all ranks and conditions, as kept miſtreſſes. The fact is too notorious to be concealed or controverted; and I truſt I have too great an eſteem for my fair readers, and too high a reſpect for myſelf, to ſtand forth the advocate of licentiouſneſs and debauchery. Undoubtedly, the conduct of many of the Whites

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in this reſpect, is a violation of all decency and decorum; and an inſult and injury to ſociety. Let it not offend any modeſt ear, however, if I add my opinion, that the unhappy females here ſpoken of, are much leſs deſerving reproach and reprehenſion than their keepers. I ſay this, from conſidering their education and condition in life; for ſuch are the unfortunate circumſtances of their birth, that not one in fifty of them is taught to write or read. Profitable inſtruction therefore, from thoſe who are capable of giving it, is withheld from them; and unhappily, the young men of their own complexion, are in too low a ſtate of degradation, to think of matrimony. On the other hand, no White man of decent appearance, unleſs urged by the temptation of a conſiderable fortune, will condeſcend to give his hand in marriage to a Mulatto! The very idea is ſhocking. Thus, excluded as they are from all hope of ever arriving to the honour and happineſs of wedlock, inſenſible of its beauty and ſanctity; ignorant of all chriſtian and moral obligations; threatened by poverty, urged by their paſſions, and encouraged by example; upon what principle can we expect theſe ill-fated women to act otherwiſe than they do?

Neither ſhould it be forgotten, at the ſame time, that very few of theſe poor females, in compariſon of the whole, are guilty of that infamous

ſpecies

ſpecies of profligacy and proſtitution, which flouriſhes, without principle or ſhame, and in the broad eye of day, throughout all the cities of Europe. In their dreſs and carriage they are modeſt, and in converſation reſerved; and they frequently manifeſt a fidelity and attachment towards their keepers, which, if it be not virtue, is ſomething very like it. The terms and manner of their compliance too are commonly as decent, though perhaps not as ſolemn, as thoſe of marriage; and the agreement they conſider equally innocent; giving themſelves up to the huſband (for ſo he is called) with faith plighted, with ſentiment, and with affection.

THAT this ſyſtem ought to be utterly aboliſhed I moſt readily admit. Juſtice towards the many beautiful and virtuous young ladies reſident in theſe iſlands, cries aloud for a thorough reformation of manners: But by whom is ſuch a reform to be begun and accompliſhed? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our preſent enquiries, who are conſcious of no vices which their chriſtian inſtructors have not taught them; and whoſe good qualities (few and limited as they are) flow chiefly from their own native original character and diſpoſition.

OF thoſe qualities, the moſt ſtriking is tenderneſs of heart; a ſoftneſs or ſympathy of mind towards affliction and diſtreſs, which I conceive

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is ſeldom diſplayed in either extreme of proſperity or wretchedneſs. Thoſe who have never experienced any of the viciſſitudes and calamities of life, turn averſe from the contemplation of them; and thoſe again who are wretched themſelves, have no leiſure to attend to the ſufferings of others: but the benevolence of the poor people of whom I treat, is not merely ſolitary and contemplative; it is an active principle, in which they may be ſaid particularly to excel; and I have the authority of a great writer before quoted (Don Anthonio De Ulloa) to ſupport me in this repreſentation. Speaking of their kindneſs to many poor Europeans, who, in the hopes of mending their fortunes, repair to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, where they are utterly unknown, he has the following account of ſuch of them as are called at Carthagena *Pulizones*; being, he ſays, men without employment, ſtock, or recommendation. "Many of theſe (he obſerves) after traverſing the ſtreets until they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourſe to the laſt extremity, the Franciſcan hoſpital; where they receive, in a quantity barely ſufficient to preſerve life, a kind of pap made of caſſada, of which the Natives themſelves will not eat. This is their food; their lodging is the porticoes of the ſquares and churches, until their good fortune throws them

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in the way of ſome trader going up the country, who wants a ſervant. The city merchants, ſtanding in no need of them, diſcountenance theſe adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire diſappointment of their romantick hopes, they fall ſick; without any other ſuccour to apply to, than Divine Providence. Now it is that the charity of the people of Colour becomes conſpicuous. The Negro and Mulatto free women, moved at the deplorable condition of theſe poor wretches, carry them to their houſes, and nurſe them with the greateſt care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the alms they procure, and even cauſe maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul."

I BELIEVE that no man, who is acquainted with the general conduct and diſpoſition of the ſame claſs of people in our own iſlands, will doubt that they would act as benevolently and humanely, under ſimilar circumſtances, as thoſe of Carthagena. Their tenderneſs, as nurſes, towards the ſick; their diſintereſted gratitude and attachment where favours are ſhewn them; and their peaceful deportment under a rigorous ſyſtem of laws, and the influence of manners ſtill more oppreſſive, afford great room to lament that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them. The enfranchiſement of ſuch

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ſuch as are enſlaved, Chriſtian inſtruction to the whole, and encouragement to their induſtry, would, in time, make them a uſeful and valuable claſs of citizens; induce them to intermarry with each other, and render their preſent relaxed and vicious ſyſtem of life, as odious in appearance, as it is baneful to ſociety *(k)*.

HITHERTO I have confined myſelf to thoſe people who, having ſome portion of Chriſtian blood in their veins, pride themſelves on that circumſtance, and to the conſcious value of which it is probable that ſome part of what is commendable in their conduct is owing. The

(k) The Rev. Mr. Ramſay has enlarged on the ſame idea concerning theſe unfortunate people. "Children of Mulatto "women, he obſerves (meaning, I preſume, their children "by White men) ſhould be declared free from their birth. "Intendants ſhould be appointed to ſee them placed out in "time to ſuch trade or buſineſs as may beſt agree with their "inclination and the demands of the colony: this ſhould be "done at the expence of their fathers, and a ſufficient ſum "might be depoſited in the hands of the churchwardens, "ſoon after their birth, to anſwer the purpoſe; the intendant "keeping the churchwardens to their duty. By theſe means "the number of free citizens would inſenſibly increaſe in "the colonies, and add to their ſecurity and ſtrength. A new "rank of citizens, placed between the Black and White "races, would be eſtabliſhed. They would naturally attach "themſelves to the White race as the moſt honourable re-"lation, and ſo become a barrier againſt the deſigns of the "Black, &c." All this, however, is eaſily propoſed in theory, but, I am afraid, more difficult to adopt in practice than Mr. Ramſay was aware of.

free

free Blacks, not having the ſame advantage, have not the ſame emulation to excel. In truth, they differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whoſe manners, genius, and character, will be the ſubject of my next enquiries. I ſhall therefore conclude the preſent chapter by preſenting to my readers, a performance of a deceaſed friend, in which the character of the ſable and ſaffron beauties of the Weſt-Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are pourtrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.

THE SABLE VENUS;

An ODE.

(Written in Jamaica.)

Alba ligustra cadunt vaccinia nigra leguntur. VIRG.

BOOK IV.

I LONG had my gay lyre forsook,
But strung it t'other day, and took
T'wards HELICON my way;
The muses all, th' assembly grac'd,
The president himself was plac'd,
By chance 'twas concert-day.

ERATO smil'd to see me come;
Ask'd why I staid so much at home;
I own'd my conduct wrong;—
But now, the sable queen of love,
Resolv'd my gratitude to prove,
Had sent me for a song.

The ladies look'd extremely shy,
APOLLO's smile was arch and sly,
But not one word they said:
I gaz'd,—sure silence is consent,—
I made my bow, away I went;
Was not my duty paid?

Come

T. Stothard pinx.t W. Grainger sculp.t

The VOYAGE of the SABLE VENUS, from ANGOLA to the WEST INDIES.

CHAP. I.

Come to my boſom, genial fire,
Soft ſounds, and lively thoughts inſpire;
    Unuſual is my theme:
Not ſuch diſſolving OVID ſung,
Nor melting SAPPHO's glowing tongue,—
    More dainty mine I deem.

Sweet is the beam of morning bright,
Yet ſweet the ſober ſhade of night;
    On rich ANGOLA's ſhores,
While beauty clad in ſable dye,
Enchanting fires the wond'ring eye,
    Farewell, ye PAPHIAN bow'rs.

O ſable Queen! thy mild domain
I ſeek, and court thy gentle reign,
    So ſoothing, ſoft and ſweet;
Where meeting love, ſincere delight,
Fond pleaſure, ready joys invite,
    And unbought raptures meet.

The prating FRANK, the SPANIARD proud,
The double SCOT, HIBERNIAN loud,
    And ſullen ENGLISH own
The pleaſing ſoftneſs of thy ſway,
And here, transferr'd allegiance pay,
    For gracious is thy throne.

From East to West, o'er either Ind'
Thy scepter sways; thy pow'r we find
By both the tropicks felt;
The blazing sun that gilds the zone,
Waits but the triumphs of thy throne.
Quite round the burning belt.

When thou, this large domain to view,
JAMAICA's isle, thy conquest new,
First left thy native shore,
Bright was the morn, and soft the breeze,
With wanton joy the curling seas
The beauteous burthen bore.

Of iv'ry was the car, inlaid
With ev'ry shell of lively shade;
The throne was burnish'd gold:
The footstool gay with coral beam'd,
The wheels with brightest amber gleam'd,
And glist'ring round they roll'd.

The peacock and the ostrich spread
Their beauteous plumes, a trembling shade,
From noon-day's sultry flame:
Sent by their sire, the careful East,
The wanton breezes fann'd her breast,
And flutter'd round the dame.

The

The winged fiſh, in purple trace
The chariot drew; with eaſy grace
Their azure rein ſhe guides:
And now they fly, and now they ſwim;
Now o'er the wave they lightly ſkim,
Or dart beneath the tides.

Each bird that haunts the rock and bay,
Each ſcaly native of the ſea,
Came crowding o'er the main:
The dolphin ſhews his thouſand dyes,
The grampus his enormous ſize,
And gambol in her train.

Her ſkin excell'd the raven plume,
Her breath the fragrant orange bloom,
Her eye the tropick beam:
Soft was her lip as ſilken down,
And mild her look as ev'ning ſun
That gilds the COBRE *(l)* ſtream.

The lovelieſt limbs her form compoſe,
Such as her ſiſter VENUS choſe,
In FLORENCE, where ſhe's ſeen;
Both juſt alike, except the white,
No difference, no—none at night,
The beauteous dames between.

(l) A river ſo called in Jamaica.

With native eaſe ſerene ſhe ſat,
In elegance of charms compleat,
And every heart ſhe won:
Falſe dreſs deformity may ſhade,
True beauty courts no foreign aid:
Can tapers light the ſun?—

The pow'r that rules old ocean wide,
'Twas he, they ſay, had calm'd the tide,
Beheld the chariot roll:
Aſſum'd the figure of a tar,
The Captain of a man of war,
And told her all his ſoul.

She ſmil'd with kind conſenting eyes;—
Beauty was ever valour's prize;
He rais'd a murky cloud:
The tritons ſound, the ſirens ſing,
The dolphins dance, the billows ring,
And joy fills all the crowd.

Bleſt offspring of the warm embrace!
Fond ruler of the criſped race!
Tho' ſtrong thy bow, dear boy,
Thy mingled ſhafts of black and white,
Are wing'd with feathers of delight,
Their points are tipt with joy.

But,

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But, when her ſtep had touch'd the ſtrand,
Wild rapture ſeiz'd the raviſh'd land,
From ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haſte eagerly to ſhew their love;
Right welcome was the dame.

PORT-ROYAL ſhouts were heard aloud,
Gay ST. IAGO ſent a crowd,
Grave KINGSTON not a few:
No rabble rout,—I heard it ſaid,
Some great ones join'd the cavalcade—
The Muſe will not ſay who.

Gay Goddeſs of the ſable ſmile!
Propitious ſtill, this grateful Iſle
With thy protection bleſs!
Here fix, ſecure, they conſtant throne;
Where all adoring thee, do ONE,
ONE Deity confeſs.

For me, if I no longer own
Allegiance to the CYPRIAN throne,
I play no fickle part;
It were ingratitude to ſlight
Superior kindneſs; I delight
To feel a grateful heart.

 Then

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Then, playful Goddeſs! ceaſe to change,
Nor in new beauties vainly range;
Tho' whatſoe'er thy view,
Try ev'ry form thou canſt put on,
I'll follow thee thro' ev'ry one;
So ſtaunch am I, ſo true.

Do thou in gentle PHIBIA ſmile,
In artful BENNEBA beguile,
In wanton MIMBA pout;
In ſprightly CUBA's eyes look gay,
Or grave in ſober QUASHEBA,
I ſtill ſhall find thee out.

Thus have I ſung; perhaps too gay
Such ſubject for ſuch time of day,
And fitter far for youth:
Should then the ſong too wanton ſeem,
You know who choſe th' unlucky theme,
Dear BRYAN tell the truth.

CHAP. II.

Of Negroes in a ſtate of Slavery.—Preliminary Obſervations.—Origin of the Slave Trade.—Portugueſe Settlements on the African Coaſt.—Negroes introduced into Hiſpaniola in 1502, *and the Slave Trade revived at the inſtance of Barth. de las Caſas, in* 1517.—*Hawkins's Voyages to the Coaſt, in* 1562 *and* 1563.—*African Company eſtabliſhed by James* I.—*Second charter in* 1631 *by Charles* I.—*Third charter in* 1662.—*Fourth charter in* 1672.—*Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Right in* 1688.—*Acts of the* 9*th and* 10*th of William and Mary, c.* 26.—*New regulations in* 1750.—*Deſcription of the African Coaſt.—Forts and Factories.—Exports from Great Britain.—Number of Negroes tranſported annually to the Britiſh Colonies.—State of the Trade from* 1771 *to* 1787.—*Number of Negroes at this time exported annually by the different Nations of Europe.*

CHAP. II.

THE progreſs of my work has now brought me to the contemplation of human nature in its moſt debaſed and abject ſtate;—to the ſad proſpect of 450,000 reaſonable beings (in the Engliſh iſlands only) in a ſtate of barbarity and ſlavery; of whom—I will not ſay the major part, but—

great numbers aſſuredly, have been torn from their native country and deareſt connections, by means on which no good mind can reflect but with ſentiments of diſguſt, commiſeration, and ſorrow!

I AM not unapprized of the danger I incur at this juncture (a) in treating the ſubject of African Slavery, and the Slave Trade. By endeavouring to remove thoſe wild and ill-founded notions which have been long encouraged by miſinformed writers in Great Britain, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, I am conſcious that I ſhall be expoſed to all that "bitterneſs and wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking and malice," with which it has long been popular to load the unfortunate ſlave-holder: yet nothing is more certain than that the Slave Trade may be very wicked, and the planters in general very innocent. By far the greateſt part of the preſent inhabitants of the Britiſh Weſt Indies came into poſſeſſion of their plantations by inheritance or accident. Many perſons there are, in Great Britain itſelf, who amidſt the continual fluctuation of human affairs, and the changes incident to property, find themſelves poſſeſſed of eſtates in the Weſt Indies which they have never ſeen, and inveſted with powers over their fellow creatures

(a) Alluding to the petitions depending in parliament (1791) for an abolition of the Slave Trade.

there,

there, which, however extenſively odious, they have never abuſed: ſome of theſe gentlemen, unacquainted with local circumſtances, and miſled by the popular outcry, humanely gave orders to emancipate all their ſlaves, at whatever expence; but are ſince convinced that their benevolent purpoſes cannot be carried into effect conſiſtently even with the happineſs of the Negroes themſelves.—The Reverend Society eſtabliſhed in Great Britain for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, are themſelves under this very predicament. That venerable body hold a plantation in Barbadoes under a deviſe of Colonel Codrington; and they have found themſelves not only under the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſupporting the ſyſtem of ſlavery which was bequeathed to them with the land; but are induced alſo, from the pureſt and beſt motives, to purchaſe occaſionally a certain number of Negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the ſtock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are ſubject, in making proviſion for the day that is paſſing over them, is a ſtate of comparative felicity: and they know alſo, that men in ſavage life have no incentive to emulation: perſuaſion is loſt on ſuch men, and compulſion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.

THE

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The queftion then, and the only queftion wherein the character of the planters is concerned, is this:—Making due allowance for human frailty under the influence of a degree of power ever dangerous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their flaves fuch only as neceffarily refults from their fituation? If to this enquiry, an affirmative be returned, furely Chriftian charity, though it may lament and condemn the firft eftablifhment of a fyftem of flavery among them, and the means by which it is ftill kept up and fupported, will not haftily arraign thofe who neither introduced, nor, as I fhall hereafter fhew, have been wanting in their beft endeavours to correct and remedy many of the evils of it.

Having premifed thus much, I fhall now proceed to lay before my readers fome account of the origin and prefent ftate of the Slave Trade, between the nations of Africa and fuch of the States of Europe as are concerned in it: this will conftitute what remains of the prefent chapter. In the next, I fhall offer fome thoughts on the Negro character and difpofition: after which I fhall treat; firft, of the means by which flaves are procured in Africa; fecondly, of the mode of conveying them to the Weft Indies; and thirdly, of their general treatment and fituation when fold to the planters there: an arrangement which will afford opportunities of illuftrating the foregoing

going obſervations, by enabling me to interſperſe ſuch reflections as occur to my mind on the ſeveral petitions now depending in parliament for a total abolition of the Slave Trade, all or the greateſt part of which are grounded on abuſes charged to exiſt under thoſe ſeveral heads.

CHAP. II.

In the year 1442, while the Portugueſe, under the encouragement of their celebrated Prince Henry, were exploring the coaſt of Africa, Anthony Gonſalez, who two years before had ſeized ſome Moors near *Cape Bojador*, was by that prince ordered to carry his priſoners back to Africa: he landed them at *Rio del-Oro*, and received from the Moors in exchange, ten Blacks, and a quantity of gold duſt, with which he returned to Liſbon.

The ſucceſs of Gonſalez, not only awakened the admiration, but ſtimulated the avarice of his countrymen; who, in the courſe of a few ſucceeding years, fitted out no leſs than thirty-ſeven ſhips in purſuit of the ſame gainful traffick. In 1481, the Portugueſe built a fort on the Gold Coaſt; another, ſome time afterwards, on the Iſland of Arguin; and a third at Loango Saint Paul's, on the coaſt of Angola; and the king of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guiney.

So early as the year 1502, the Spainards began to employ a few Negroes in the mines of Hiſpaniola;

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niola; but, in the year following, Ovando, the governor of that iſland, forbad the further importation of them; alledging, that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedneſs, and rendered them leſs tractable than formerly *(b)*. So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decreaſe of theſe laſt-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain a few years afterwards, to revoke the orders iſſued by Ovando, and to authorize, by royal authority, the introduction of African Slaves from the Portugueſe Settlements on the coaſt of Guiney. In the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain perſons for the excluſive ſupply of 4,000 Negroes annually, to the iſlands of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico *(c)*. This patent having been aſſigned to ſome Genoeſe merchants, the ſupply of Negroes to the Spaniſh American plantations became from that time an eſtabliſhed and regular branch of commerce.

The concurrence of the Emperor in this meaſure was obtained at the ſolicitation of Bartholomew de las Caſas, Biſhop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians; and the conduct of this great prelate, on that occaſion, has been the ſubject of much cenſure and

(b) Herrera, Decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.

(c) Herrera, Decad. 2. lib. 2. c. 20.

animad-

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animadverſion. He is charged with the iniquitous abſurdity of reducing one race of men to ſlavery, while he was concerting the means of reſtoring freedom to another. " While he contended," ſays a late writer *(d)*, " for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enſlave the inhabitants of another region; and, in the warmth of his zeal to ſave the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impoſe one, *ſtill heavier*, upon the Africans." It would be difficult perhaps to ſay what yoke could well be heavier than the rigorous one impoſed by the Spaniards on the wretched Indians; under which, as the ſame Hiſtorian elſewhere relates, the Natives of Hiſpaniola " were reduced, in the ſhort ſpace of fifteen years, from at leaſt a million, to ſixty thouſand." But the conduct of Las Caſas is not fully and fairly ſtated in the foregoing repreſentation; for it ſuppoſes that each claſs of pleople (the Negroes and Indians) was found in a ſimilar condition and ſituation of life, whereas it is notorious that many of the Negroes imported from Africa, are born of enſlaved parents, are bred up as Slaves themſelves, and as ſuch have been habituated to labour from their infancy. On this account we are told, that one able

(d) Robinſon, Hiſt. Amer.

Negro

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Negro was capable of performing the work of four Indians. On the other hand, the condition of these last-mentioned people was widely removed from a state of slavery. "The inhabitants of these islands," says a cotemporary writer, "have been so used to the enjoyment of liberty, in a life of plenty and pastime, that the yoke of servitude is insupportable to them; and assuredly, if they would but embrace our holy religion, they would be the happiest of human beings in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom *(e)*." Las Casas therefore contended, reasonably enough, that men inured to servitude and drudgery, who could experience no alteration of circumstances from a change of masters, and who felt not the sentiments which freedom alone can inspire, were not so great objects of commiseration, as those who, having always enjoyed the sweets of unbounded liberty, were suddenly deprived of it, and urged to tasks of labour which their strength was unable to perform. Las Casas could neither prevent nor foresee the abuses and evils that have arisen from the system of traffick recommended by him, and is not therefore justly chargeable with the rashness, absurdity, and iniquity, which have since been imputed to his conduct.

(e) Pet. Martyr. Decad.

Of

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Of the Englifh, the firft who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who afterwards received from Queen Elizabeth the honour of knighthood, and was made treafurer of the navy. His adventures are recorded by Hakluyt, a cotemporary hiftorian. Having made feveral voyages to the Canary iflands, and there received information (fays Hakluyt) "that Negroes were "very good merchandize in Hifpaniola, and that "ftore of Negroes might eafily be had on the "Coaft of Guiney, he refolved to make trial "thereof, and communicated that device, with "his worfhipful friends of London, Sir Lionel "Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Mafter Gunfon "(his father-in-law) Sir William Winter, Mafter "Bromfield, and others; all which perfons liked "fo well of his intention, that they became li-"beral contributors and adventurers in the ac-"tion; for which purpofe there were three good "fhips immediately provided, the Salomon of "120 tunne, wherein Mafter Hawkins himfelf "went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes, "and the Jonas, a bark of 40 tunnes; in which "fmall fleete, Mafter Hawkins took with him "100 men."

Hawkins failed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October 1562, and in a fhort

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a ſhort time after his arrival on the coaſt, got into his poſſeſſion, partly (ſays Hakluyt) by the ſword, and partly by other means, to the number of 300 Negroes, beſides other merchandize, with which he proceeded directly for Hiſpaniola, and touching at different ports in that iſland, diſpoſed of the whole of his cargo in exchange for hides, ginger, ſugar, and ſome pearls; and arrived in England in September 1563, after a very proſperous voyage, which brought great profit to the adventurers.

THE ſucceſs which had attended this firſt expedition, appears to have attracted the notice, and excited the avarice of the Britiſh government; for we find Hawkins, in the year following, appointed to the command of one of the Queen's ſhips, the Jeſus of 700 tons, and with the Solomon, the Tiger, a bark of 50 tons, and the Swallow, a bark of 30 tons, ſent a ſecond time on the ſame trading expedition; but with what part of the profits for his own ſhare, is not mentioned. He ſailed from Plymouth, the 18th of October 1564, and the ſame day joined at ſea the Minion, another of the Queen's ſhips, commanded by captain David Carlet, and which, with two others, the John Baptiſt, and the Merlin, were likewiſe bound for Guiney.

THE hiſtory of this voyage is related at large in

in Hakluyt's Collection, by a perſon who embarked with Hawkins; from whoſe account it appears, that the fleet was diſperſed by a violent gale of wind, in the Bay of Biſcay; that the Merlin caught fire and blew up; that the John Baptiſt put back, but that all the other veſſels arrived at length at Cape Verde, on the Coaſt of Africa. "The people of Cape Verde," ſays the writer, "are called *Leophares*, and are counted "the goodlieſt men of all others ſaving the "Congoes, who inhabit this ſide the Cape de "Buena Eſperance. Theſe Leophares have wars "againſt the Jaloffs, which are borderers by "them. Theſe men alſo are more civil than "any other, becauſe of their daily trafficke with "the Frenchmen, and are of a nature very gentle "and loving. Here we ſtayed but one night, "and part of the day, for the 7th of December "we came away; in that intending to have "taken negroes there perforce; the Minion's "men gave them to underſtand of our coming, "and our pretence; wherefore they did avoyde "the ſnares we had lay'd for them."

It ſeems probable from this account, that the captain of the Minion having an independent command, was jealous of Hawkins's authority, or, it is rather to be hoped, was ſhocked at the exceſſes to which his avarice urged him, in laying ſnares to ſeize and carry off the unoffending Na-

 tives,

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tives. After this, the Minion no longer acted in concert, nor ſailed in company with Hawkins and his ſquadron.

On the 8th of December, Hawkins anchored at a ſmall iſland called Alcatraſa. At this place we are informed that the Jeſus and Solomon riding at anchor, the two barks with their boats, went to an iſland belonging to a people called the *Sapies*, to ſee if they could take any of the inhabitants. The Engliſh landed, to the number of eighty, with arms and ammunition; but the Natives flying into the woods, they returned without ſucceſs. A ſhort time afterwards, we find this righteous commander at one of the iſlands which are called *Sambula*. "In this "iſland (ſays the writer) we ſtayed certain dayes, "going every day on ſhore to take the inhabi-"tants with burning and ſpoiling their towns. "Theſe inhabitants (who were called *Samboes)* "hold divers of the Sapies taken in war as their "ſlaves, whom they kept to till the ground, "of whom we took many in that place, but of "the Samboes none at all; for they fled into "the maine." The writer then proceeds to give an account of the manners and cuſtoms of theſe people; and relates, among other particulars, that ſlavery is the eſtabliſhed puniſhment for theft. "If a man (ſays he) ſteals but a Portugal cloth "from another, he is ſold to the Portugals for

ſlave." He relates further, that the Samboes, in a time of ſcarcity, devoured their captives, for want of better food.

The reſt of Hawkins's adventures are nothing to my preſent purpoſe. What has been quoted, is ſufficient to demonſtrate that a regular traffick had been eſtabliſhed, ſo early as the year 1564, both by the Portugueſe and the French, with ſome nations of Africa, for the purchaſe of Slaves; that this intercourſe was founded on mutual contract, and tended to civiliſe the Natives on the Coaſt; ſome nations of whom were poſſeſſed of Slaves, which they kept for the purpoſes of agriculture; and occaſionally killed for food; a horrid practice, that, I believe, no longer exiſts in this part of Africa. In regard to Hawkins himſelf, he was, I admit, a murderer and a robber. His avowed purpoſe in ſailing to Guiney, was to ſeize by ſtratagem or force, and carry away, the unſuſpecting Natives, in the view of ſelling them as Slaves to the people of Hiſpaniola. In this purſuit, his object was preſent profit, and his employment and paſtime devaſtation and murder. He made a third voyage to Africa in 1568, for the ſame purpoſe, with a ſquadron of ſix ſhips, which the reader will not be ſorry to find terminated moſt miſerably; and put a ſtop, for ſome years, to any more piratical expeditions of the Engliſh to the coaſt of Africa.

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The first notice which I find in hiſtory of an actual attempt by the Britiſh nation to eſtabliſh a regular trade on the African Coaſt, is in the year 1618, when King James I. granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and ſome other merchants of London, for raiſing a joint ſtock for a trade to Guiney: ſhips were accordingly fitted out; but the profits not being found to anſwer expectation, the proprietors ſoon afterwards withdrew their contributions; and the charter was ſuffered to expire *(f)*.

In 1631, King Charles I. erected by charter a ſecond company for a trade to Africa; granting to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and ſundry merchants, to enjoy the ſole trade to the Coaſt of Guiney, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the iſles adjacent, for 31 years to come. As the Engliſh had by this time began the ſettlement of plantations in the Weſt Indies, Negroes were in ſuch demand as to induce the new company, at a great expence, to erect forts and warehouſes on the Coaſt, for the protection of their commerce; but ſo many private adventurers and interlopers

(f) Queen Elizabeth is ſaid to have granted a patent in the 30th year of her reign, for carrying on an excluſive trade from the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone; but I do not find that any voyage was ever made in conſequence of it.

of

of all nations, broke in upon them, as in effect to force the trade open, and so it continued until after the restoration of Charles II.

In the year 1662, a third exclusive African company was incorporated, consisting of many persons of high rank and distinction; at the head of whom was the king's brother, the duke of York. This company undertook to supply our West Indian plantations with 3,000 Negroes annually; but in 1664, the king intending to make war on the Dutch, secretly sent Sir Robert Holmes to the Coast, with orders to seize the Dutch forts near Cape Verde; in which service Holmes succeeded, and built at the same time a new fort at the mouth of the River Gambia, called James Fort, which we still hold. Thence sailing southward, he mastered all the Dutch factories on the Guiney Coast, except St. George D'Elmina and Acheen; all of which were however retaken in 1665, by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; together with the Fort of Koromantyn, belonging to the English company, which (if I mistake not) the Dutch hold at this day, by the name of Fort Amsterdam.

In 1672 (the third company having in this year surrendered their charter to the crown) the fourth and last exclusive company was established. It was dignified by the title of the Royal African Company, and had, among its subscribers, the

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King, the duke of York, and many other perſons of high rank and quality; and the whole capital of £. 111,000 was raiſed in nine months. Out of this ſubſcription, the late company was allowed £. 34,000 for their three forts of Cape Coaſt Caſtle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort. The new company ſoon improved their trade, and increaſed the numbert of their forts; and, as all former companies were obliged to ſend to Holland to make up an aſſortment for the cargoes of their ſhips, they now introduced into England the making of ſundry kinds of woollen goods, and other manufactures not before known; and they imported from the Coaſt great quantities of gold, out of which, in 1673, 50,000 guineas (ſo named from the country) were coined. They alſo imported redwood for dyers, ivory, wax, and ſome other valuable commodities, and they exported to the value of £. 70,000 annually in Engliſh goods.

But the revolution in 1688 changed the ſcene; for by the 1ſt of William and Mary, as the *Petition and Declaration of Right* is commonly called, the African and all other excluſive companies not authorized by parliament, were aboliſhed: the African trade, therefore, became in fact, free and open; although the company ſtill perſiſted in ſeizing the ſhips of ſeparate traders; a meaſure which occaſioned much clamour,

mour, and no ſmall obſtruction to the Negro-trade. The diſputes which this conduct gave riſe to, are however too unintereſting at preſent to be brought again to remembrance. CHAP. II.

In 1689 was eſtabliſhed the firſt *Aſſiento* company for ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with Negroes from Jamaica; and in 1698 the trade to Africa, which, by the Petition of Right was virtually laid open, was expreſsly made ſo, under certain conditions; for by ſtatutes 9 and 10th of Will. and Mary, c. 26. it was enacted—

"That for the preſervation of the trade, and for the advantage of England and its Colonies, it ſhould be lawful for any of the ſubjects of his Majeſty's realm of England, as well as for the company, to trade from England and the Plantations in America to Africa, between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope; upon paying for the aforeſaid uſes a duty of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, for the goods exported from England or the Plantations, to be paid to the collector at the time of entry outwards, for the uſe of the company.

The ſame liberty was given to trade between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount; but, in addition to the 10 *per cent.* on exportation, there was to be paid a further ſum of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandize, redwood

 excepted,

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excepted, which was to pay only 5 *per cent.* at the place of exportation, imported into England, or the Plantations, from the coaſt between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount. The duties ſo paid were to be applied to the maintenance of the forts and caſtles, the providing ammunition, and ſoldiers. The company were yearly to render an account of the receipt of theſe duties and their application, to the Curſitor Baron of Exchequer.

Perſons paying theſe duties were to have the ſame protection and defence for their perſons, ſhips, and goods, from the forts and caſtles, and the ſame freedom and ſecurity for their negociations and trade, as the company. They might ſettle factories within their limits, and were to be free from all moleſtations from the company.

No duty impoſed by this act was to extend to Negroes exported, or to gold and ſilver, nor was the act to be ſo conſtrued as to hinder any one from trading to that part of Africa, commonly called South Barbary, extending ſoutherly as far as Cape Blanco."

AGAINST the regulations of this law, which was to continue in force for 13 years, both the company and many of the private traders remonſtrated without effect; and the company's affairs, in the courſe of a few years, declined to

ſo

ſo great a degree, that they were unable either to ſupport their factories with new inveſtments, or to pay the debts which they had already incurred. Parliament, at length was induced to give them ſome aſſiſtance; and in 1739 voted £. 10,000 for that purpoſe, and the like ſum annually until the year 1744, when, by reaſon of the war with France and Spain, the grant was doubled. In each of the two ſucceding years £. 10,000 was again voted;—but nothing was granted for 1747.

In the year 1750 the African trade, after having paſſed, as we have ſeen, through different conſtitutions and conditions, aſſumed a new appearance; for in that year the law took place under which it ſtill exiſts, and is at preſent regulated. It is entitled, "An act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" the terms and conditions whereof I need not ſet forth, as the act itſelf is ſo eaſily referred to. Of the ſeveral countries, however, which with the trade is at preſent carried on, and the ſtate of it for ſome years paſt, ſome particulars may be neceſſary. My account will be brief; there being many deſcriptions of Guiney extant; and an abridgment and ſummary of the beſt hiſtories (collated and arranged with great judgment and accuracy) are given to the public in Aſtley's collection of voyages; wherein

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wherein the reader will find much curious and useful information (*g*).

THAT part then of the African coast on the Atlantick Ocean, with which the people of Europe have an intercourse, extends from Cape Blanco, in 21° N. latitude, to a Portuguese settlement called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, lat. 9° S. comprehending a line of coast of upwards of 1,300 English leagues, and consisting of various countries, inhabited by a great number of savage nations, differing widely from each other, in government, language, manners, and superstitions.

THE first of these countries, in which the British have an establishment, is the province of Senegambia; including the river Senegal, which opens into the Western ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in 13° ½ N. latitude. Both these rivers are navigable many hundred miles up the country. The Negroes obtained from this part of Africa are known to

(*g*) In the year 1763 Senegal and its dependencies were vested in the African Company; but in 1765 the same became vested in the crown, and the trade was laid open. Thus the whole African trade is free to all his Majesty's subjects; but that part of it which is carried on between Port Sallee and Cape Rouge is under the direction of government. From Cape Rouge to the Cape of Good Hope, the English forts are under the direction of a committee of the company.

the Weſt Indian planters by the general name of *Mandingoes*. CHAP. II.

FROM Cape Roxo (or Rouge) to Cape Appollonia, the European ſettlements, except a ſmall Engliſh factory in the river Sierra Leone, are chiefly thoſe of the Portugueſe.—The Negroes obtained through their means, as well as from the Engliſh factory, are likewiſe called Mandingoes—I believe improperly; as many different languages are ſpoken on the coaſt between Senegal and Appollonia. This part of Africa is commonly called the Windward Coaſt.

THE Gold Coaſt extends from Cape Appollonia to the river Volta, comprehending a line of 100 leagues. The maritime country is divided into a number of petty ſtates or principalities, ſeemingly independent of, and often at war with, each other; the chief of which are Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Sabou, Fantyn (a rich and powerful people) Acron, and Agonna; ſome of which are ſaid to maintain a republican, or more properly an ariſtocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it conſiſts of three extenſive kingdoms, called Aſſiantee (or Shantee) Akim, and Aquambou; each of which ſupplies the maritime ſtates with great numbers of ſlaves, which they ſell to the Europeans. In the Britiſh Weſt Indies, moſt of the Negroes purchaſed on the Gold

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Gold Coaſt, are known by the general appellation of *Koromantees*, from Koromantyn, one of the earlieſt of our factories on this part of the African coaſt, as hath been already obſerved, but which is now become an inſignificant village, or factory, in poſſeſſion of the Dutch. It is ſituated in the kingdom of Fantyn, two miles from the fort of Anamaboe.—I believe that the ſame, or different dialects of the ſame language, is ſpoken throughout all the Gold Coaſt countries.

FROM the river Volta to the river Lagos, extends the Whidah country, (at preſent a province to the king of Dahomey, a great inland kingdom) by ſome geographers conſidered as part of the Gold Coaſt; by others denominated *The Slave Coaſt proper*. It begins with the ſmall and barren ſtate of Koto or Lampi, next to which is the kingdom of Adra, comprehending the ſubordinate maritime principalities of Great and Little Popo, or Papaw; from whence the Whidah Negroes are called generally, by the Britiſh traders, *Papaws*. The Whidah language, except as to the inhabitants of Koto, is peculiar and appropriate. The people of Koto ſpeak a dialect of the Gold Coaſt, and there is a tribe of Whidah Negroes called *Nagoes*, who have a dialect which, though underſtood by the Papaws, differs from the Whidah language in many particulars.

WEST of the river Lagos begins the great kingdom

kingdom of Benin, the coaſt of which forms a gulph or bight, ending at Cape Lopez, wherein are ſituated the trading places (being ſo many villages on the banks of ſeveral rivers) of Benin, Bonny, Old and New Callabar, Cameron, and Gaboon.

The ſlaves purchaſed on this part of the coaſt, have the general denomination of *Eboes*; probably from Arebo, the name of a village, formerly a conſiderable town, on the river Benin. Some of them (a tribe, I believe, from the interior country) are likewiſe called *Mocoes*. In language they differ both from the Gold Coaſt Negroes and thoſe of Whidah, and in ſome reſpects from each other; for from Whidah to Angola, the dialects vary at almoſt every trading river.

From Cape Lopez to the river Congo, diſtant 140 leagues, I believe the trade is chiefly engroſſed by the Dutch and the French. To the ſouthward of this river, very little trade is carried on by any Europeans except the Portugueſe, who, as hath been obſerved, have a large city at Loango St. Paul's, on the Coaſt of Angola, ſtrongly fortified; from which place they have penetrated quite through the country to their ſettlements at, and ſouth of, Mozambique, upon the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, where they have caravans conſtantly going and returning, and by that means

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means carry on an extenſive and advantageous inland commerce.

The whole number of forts and factories eſtabliſhed on the coaſt by the different powers of Europe, is I believe forty; of which fourteen belong to the Engliſh, three to the French, fifteen to the Dutch, four to the Portugueſe, and four to the Danes.

The commodities exported by the Britiſh traders to Africa, conſiſt chiefly of woollens, linens, Mancheſter goods, Birmingham and Sheffield goods; Eaſt Indian ſilks and mixed goods; Engliſh printed callicoes and cottons; ready-made cloths, muſquets, bayonets, cutlaſſes, gunpowder, ſhot, wrought and unwrought braſs and copper, lead, pewter, wrought and unwrought iron, hats, worſted caps, earthen ware, Britiſh ſpirits, rum and brandy, tea, ſugar, coffee and proviſions of every kind.—The annual value, of late years, is eſtimated on an average at about £. 800,000 ſterling.

In ſome parts of the coaſt there is a duty paid on each ſhip, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his cuſtoms. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in ſuch places as have but little trade. When permiſſion is obtained to trade, the ſlaves are ſometimes brought by the Black merchants on board the

ſhips,

ſhips, and there ſold; and ſometimes they are purchaſed on ſhore at the merchants houſes, and brought off to the ſhips by the captains; after which the Black traders come on board to receive payment. In theſe particulars, circumſtances and ſituations very often change the mode, juſt as an oppoſition among a number of purchaſers makes it more or leſs neceſſary. Many of the factories on the coaſt are private property; of courſe they procure ſlaves for the ſhips in their own concern. Sometimes they barter ſlaves with ſtrangers, in order to enlarge their own aſſortment of goods, or to procure ſome particular commodities of which they are in want. Among the forts, the officers that belong to them carry on trade more or leſs with the ſhipping as their circumſtances will admit, and according as they are more or leſs independent; but the Black traders are ſuppoſed to ſell their ſlaves about forty ſhillings each cheaper than the factories.

In thoſe parts of the coaſt to which ſhipping reſort all the year, the intercourſe between the Black traders within land (for an extent as yet unexplored by any White perſon) and thoſe on the coaſt, is conſtant and regular; but we have no ſufficiently preciſe and particular account of the manner in which this conſtant ſupply of ſlaves for ſale is kept up and ſupported. I ſhall hereafter give the beſt information I have been able to

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to collect on this head. I regret that I have not sufficient materials to enable me to furnish an accurate statement of the number of Africans that have been transported to the British colonies since their first settlement. However, that curiosity may not be wholly disappointed, I have collected such materials as I think will enable the reader to form some judgment in this respect, which probably will not be very wide of the truth.

In the various publications with which the press abounded during the time that the disputes between the African Company and the private traders were an object of national concern, it is asserted by one party, and not denied by the other, that about 140,000 Negroes had been exported by the company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers, between the years 1680 and 1700: Total 300,000. From 1700 to December 1786, the number imported into Jamaica was 610,000. I say this on sufficient evidence, having in my possession lists of all the entries. Of the number imported during the same interval into the southern provinces of North America, as well as the Windward Islands, I cannot speak with precision; but I am of opinion that the Jamaica import may fairly be reckoned one-third of the whole. On these grounds, the total import into all the British colones of America and

and the West Indies, from 1680 to 1786, may be put at 2,130,000, being, on an average of the whole, 20,095 annually. This I admit is much less than is commonly supposed: Anderson roundly fixes the annual import at 100,000; but vague and general assertions prove nothing. The re-export may be stated at about one-fifth part of the import.

It appears to me, that the British slave trade had attained to its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the late American war: The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ships which sailed from England for the Coast in 1771, and of the number of slaves for the purchase and transportation of which they were sufficiently provided, and I believe its authenticity cannot be doubted; viz.

	Ships.		Negroes.
To Senegambia - -	40	for	3,310
Windward Coast -	56	—	11,960
Gold Coast - - - -	29	—	7,525
Bight of Benin - -	63	—	23,301
Angola - - - - -	4	—	1,050
Total - -	192	—	47,146

Of the above 192 ships	Negroes.
107 sailed from Liverpool, for -	29,250
58 — from London, for - -	8,136
23 — from Bristol, for - -	8,810
4 — from Lancaster, for - -	950

In

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In the year 1772 failed from Great Britain, for the African coaft

	175	veffels, having goods on board valued at	-	£. 866,394	11	3
1773 -	151	- -	D° -	688,110	10	11
1774 -	167	- -	D° -	846,525	12	5
1775 -	152	- -	D° -	786,168	2	8
1776 -	101	- -	D° -	470,779	1	1
1777 -	58	- -	D° -	239,218	3	—
1778 -	41	- -	D° -	154,086	1	10
1779 -	28	- -	D° -	159,217	19	7

This defalcation was unqueftionably owing to the late war, on the termination of which the trade immediately began to revive, as appears by the following account of the Negroes imported into and exported from the Britifh Weft Indian Iflands, from 1783 to 1787 (both years inclufive); viz.

Year.	N° of Ships.	Tons.	Negroes imported.	Negroes exported.	Negroes retained.
1783	38	5,455	16,208	809	15,399
1784	93	13,301	28,550	5,263	23,287
1785	73	10,730	21,598	5,018	16,580
1786	67	8,070	19,160	4,317	14,843
1787	85	12,183	21,023	5,366	15,657

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa, by the fubjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence fupplied, the following account was tranfmitted by the merchants

chants of Liverpool to the Lords of the Privy Council, and it is undoubtedly as authentick and particular a return as can possibly be obtained: viz.

CHAP. II.

		No of Slaves exported.
By the British	- - - -	38,000
French	- - - -	20,000
Dutch	- - - -	4,000
Danes	- - - -	2,000
Portuguese	- - -	10,000
Total	- -	74,000

	No of Slaves.
Of which Gambia furnishes about -	700
Isles Delos, and the adjacent rivers - - -	1,500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount - - -	2,000
From Cape Mount to Cape Palmas - - -	3,000
From Cape Palmas to Cape Appollonia - -	1,000
Gold Coast - -	10,000
Quitta and Popo - -	1,000
Whydah - - -	4,500
Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry - - -	3,500
Carried forward -	27,200

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		No of Slaves.
Brought forward	-	27,200
Lagos and Benin	- -	3,500
Bonny and New Calabar	-	14,500
Old Calabar and Cameroons		7,000
Gabon and Cape Lopez	-	500
Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda	- - -	13,500
Majumba, Ambris, and Misſoula	- - -	1,000
Loango St. Paul's, and Benguela	- - -	7,000
Total	-	74,200

Of the miſerable people thus condemned to perpetual exile and ſervitude, though born in various and widely-ſeparated countries, it is not eaſy to diſcriminate the peculiar manners and native propenſities. The ſimilar and uniform ſyſtem of life to which they are all reduced; the few opportunities and the little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement; are circumſtances that neceſſarily induce a predominant and prevailing caſt of character and diſpoſition. "The day," ſays Homer, "which makes man a ſlave, takes away half his worth," and, in fact, he loſes every impulſe to action, except that of fear. Nevertheleſs, there are among ſeveral

ſeveral of the African nations ſome ſtriking and predominant features, which cannot eaſily be overlooked by a perſon reſiding in any one of the ſugar plantations. Theſe peculiarities I ſhall endeavour to deſcribe with candour and impartiality; after which, I ſhall attempt a delineation of their general character, as it is diſplayed under all the various modifications and circumſtances of original habits, and preſent ſituation and condition.

CHAP. III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coast.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and persons.—Koromantyn Negroes, or Natives of the Gold Coast.—Their ferociousness of disposition displayed by an account of the Negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.—Their national manners, wars, and superstitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin.—Persons and tempers.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and dispositions of Negroes in a state of slavery.

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MOST, if not all, the nations that inhabit that part of Africa which lies to the northward and eastward of Sierra Leone, are Mahometans; and following the means of conversion prescribed by their prophet, are, as we are told, perpetually at war with such of the surrounding nations as refuse to adopt their religious tenets. The prisoners taken in these religious wars furnish, I doubt not, great part of the slaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward Coast; and it is probable that death would be the fate of most of the captives, if purchasers were not to be met with.

BUT

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BUT the Mandingoes have frequent wars with each other, as well as with ſuch nations as they conſider enemies of their faith; and I am afraid that ſome of theſe wars ariſe from motives even leſs juſtifiable than religious zeal. An old and faithful Mandingo ſervant, who ſtands at my elbow while I write this, relates, that being ſent by his father to viſit a diſtant relation in a country wherein the Portugueſe had a ſettlement, a fray happened in the village in which he reſided; that many people were killed, and others taken priſoners, and he himſelf was ſeized and carried off in the ſkirmiſh; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by ſome of the natives of the place; and being ſent down a river in a canoe, was ſold to the captain of the ſhip that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national cuſtoms and manners he remembers but little, being, at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practiſe circumciſion, and that he himſelf has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of this aſſertion, he chaunts, in an audible and ſhrill tone, a ſentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill illa!* (*a*), which he ſays they ſing aloud at the firſt appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own

(*a*) There is no God, but God.

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country Friday was conſtantly made a day of ſtrict faſting. It was almoſt a ſin, he obſerves, on that day, *to ſwallow his ſpittle*,—ſuch is his expreſſion.

Besides this man, I had once another Mandingo ſervant, who could write, with great beauty and exactneſs, the Arabick alphabet, and ſome paſſages from the Alcoran. Whether his learning extended any further, I had no opportunity of being informed, as he died ſoon after he came into my poſſeſſion.

The advantage poſſeſſed by a few of theſe people, of being able to read and write, is a circumſtance on which the Mandingo Negroes in the Weſt Indies pride themſelves greatly among the reſt of the ſlaves; over whom they conſider that they poſſeſs a marked ſuperiority; and in truth they diſplay ſuch gentleneſs of diſpoſition and demeanour, as would ſeem the reſult of early education and diſcipline, were it not that, generally ſpeaking, they are more prone to theft than any of the African tribes. It has been ſuppoſed that this propenſity, among other vices, is natural to a ſtate of ſlavery, which degrades and corrupts the human mind in a deplorable manner; but why the Mandingoes ſhould have become more vicious in this reſpect than the reſt of the Natives of Africa in the ſame condition of life, is a queſtion I cannot anſwer.

In their complexions and perſons, the Man-

dingoes are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from ſuch of the Africans as are born nearer to the equator; but they conſiſt nevertheleſs of very diſtinct tribes, ſome of which are remarkably tall and black, and there is one tribe among them (called alſo the Foolah) that ſeems to me to conſtitute the link between the Moors and Negroes properly ſo called. They are of a leſs gloſſy black than the Gold Coaſt Negroes; and their hair, though buſhy and criſped, is not woolly, but ſoft and ſilky to the touch. Neither have the Mandingoes, in common, the thick lips and flat noſes of the more ſouthern Natives; and they are, in a great degree, exempt from that ſtrong and fetid odour, which exhales from the ſkin of moſt of the latter; but in general they are not well adapted for hard labour *. CHAP. III.

AFTER all, they differ leſs in their perſons, than in the qualities of the mind, from the Na-

* There is a remarkable anomaly of nature ſometimes ſeen in the children born of Negro women by black men. Their features are thoſe of the Negro, but their complexions *are white*: not the white of the European, but a cadaverous paleneſs without any mixture of red, and their hair is of the ſame colour, though criſped and woolly. I have inſpected ſeveral of theſe poor creatures, and always found them weak ſighted, and, in general, defective in underſtanding. Theſe are the people called by the Spaniards *Albinos*; but that a nation of them exiſts in any part of the world, as aſſerted by Voltaire, I do not believe.

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tives of the Gold Coaſt; who may be ſaid to conſtitute the genuine and original unmixed Negro, both in perſon and character.

The circumſtances which diſtinguiſh the Koromantyn, or Gold Coaſt, Negroes, from all others, are firmneſs both of body and mind; a ferociouſneſs of diſpoſition; but withal, activity, courage, and a ſtubbornneſs, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation, of ſoul, which prompts them to enterprizes of difficulty and danger; and enables them to meet death, in its moſt horrible ſhape, with fortitude or indifference. They ſometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have conſtitutions well adapted for it; for many of them have undoubtedly been ſlaves in Africa:—I have interrogated great numbers on this ſubject, and although ſome of them aſſerted they were born free, who, as it was afterwards proved by the teſtimony of their own relations, were actually ſold as ſlaves by their maſters, others frankly confeſſed to me that they had no claim to freedom in their own country, and were ſold either to pay the debts, or to expiate the crimes, of their owners. On the other hand, the Gold Coaſt being inhabited by various different tribes which are engaged in perpetual warfare and hoſtility with each other, there cannot be a doubt that

many of the captives taken in battle, and ſold in the European ſettlements, were of free condition in their native country, and perhaps the owners of ſlaves themſelves. It is not wonderful that ſuch men ſhould endeavour, even by means the moſt deſperate, to regain the freedom of which they have been deprived; nor do I conceive that any further circumſtances are neceſſary to prompt them to action, than that of being ſold into captivity in a diſtant country. I mean only to ſtate facts as I find them. Such I well know was the origin of the Negro rebellion which happened in Jamaica in 1760. It aroſe at the inſtigation of a Koromantyn Negro of the name of Tacky, who had been a chief in Guiney; and it broke out on the Frontier plantation in St. Mary's pariſh, belonging to the late Ballard Beckford, and the adjoining eſtate of Trinity, the property of my deceaſed relation and benefactor Zachary Bayly, to whoſe wiſdom, activity and courage on this occaſion, it was owing that the revolt was not as general and deſtructive as that which now rages in St. Domingo (1791). On thoſe plantations were upwards of one hundred Gold Coaſt Negroes newly imported, and I do not believe that an individual amongſt them had received the leaſt ſhadow of ill treatment from the time of their arrival there. Concerning thoſe on the Trinity

eſtate,

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eſtate, I can pronounce of my own knowledge, that they were under the government of an overſeer of ſingular tenderneſs and humanity. His name was Abraham Fletcher; and let it be remembered, in juſtice even to the rebels, and as a leſſon to other overſeers, that his life was ſpared from reſpect to his virtues. The inſurgents had heard of his character from the other Negroes, and ſuffered him to paſs through them unmoleſted—this fact appeared in evidence *(b)*. Having collected

(b) Mr. Bayly had himſelf left the Trinity eſtate the preceding evening, after having perſonally inſpected into the ſituation of his newly purchaſed Africans, and delivered them with his own hands their clothing *and knives*, little apprehending the bloody buſineſs in which theſe knives were ſoon afterwards employed. He ſlept at Ballard's Valley, a plantation of Mr. Cruikſhank, a few miles diſtant; and was awoke by his ſervant at day-break, with the information that his Trinity Negroes had revolted. The intelligence was brought by ſome of his own people, who had fled in ſearch of their Maſter, and reported that the inſurgents were cloſe at their heels. No time therefore being to be loſt, Mr. Bayly recommended to Mr. Cruikſhank, and ſome other Gentlemen who were with him, to proceed forthwith, with ſuch arms as they could collect, to an eſtate in the neighbourhood, which having a defenſible houſe, was fixed on as a proper place of rendezvous; promiſing to join them in a few hours. He then mounted his horſe, and proceeded himſelf in ſearch of the rebels, conceiving (as he knew they had no reaſon to complain of ill treatment) that his preſence and perſuaſions would reduce them to obedience. As he deſcended the hill on which Mr. Cruikſhank's houſe was ſituated, he heard the *Koromantyn yell of war*, and ſaw the whole body of rebel Negroes

collected themselves into a body about one o'clock in the morning, they proceeded to the fort at Port Maria; killed the centinel, and pro- CHAP. III.

Negroes in full march for the habitation of the Overseer; a smaller house situated within half a mile of the other. He approached them notwithstanding, and waving his hat, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was answered by a discharge of musquetry, by which his servant's horse was shot under him, and both himself and the servant very narrowly escaped with life. The Savages then proceeded to the massacre of the White people in the Overseer's house; and Mr. Bayly rode round to all the different plantations in the neighbourhood, giving them notice of their danger, and sending all the Whites to the place of rendezvous. By this measure he had collected before noon about 130 Whites and trusty Blacks, tolerably armed; whom he then led in pursuit of the rebels. They were found at Haywood-Hall, roasting an ox by the flames of the buildings, which they had set on fire. The Whites attacked them with great fury, killed eight or nine on the spot, took several of them prisoners, and drove the rest into the woods, where they acted afterwards wholly on the defensive, and were soon exterminated. Thus a timely check was given to a conspiracy, which was found to have been general among the *Koromantyn* Negroes throughout the Island, and the country was probably saved from utter destruction by the prudence and promptitude of an individual.—I have related these circumstances concerning my deceased relation's conduct on this occasion for two reasons; first, because it presents an example to be imitated in similar emergencies; and secondly, because I have thus an opportunity given me of paying a just tribute to the memory of one, whom I loved and honoured when living, and lamented when dead, with more than filial affection and piety; for he possessed the clearest head, the most enlarged and comprehensive mind, the sweetest temper, and the kindest and most benevolent disposition, of any man that it has been my fortune to meet with, in my diversified journey through life! See vol. i. p. 308.

vided

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vided themſelves with as great a quantity of arms and ammunition as they could conveniently diſpoſe of. Being by this time joined by a number of their countrymen from the neighbouring plantations, they marched up the high road that led to the interior parts of the country, carrying death and deſolation as they went. At Ballard's Valley they ſurrounded the overſeer's houſe about four in the morning, in which finding all the White ſervants in bed, they butchered every one of them in the moſt ſavage manner, and literally drank their blood mixed with rum. At Eſher, and other eſtates, they exhibited the ſame tragedy; and then ſet fire to the buildings and canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty and forty Whites and Mulattoes, not ſparing even infants at the breaſt, before their progreſs was ſtopped. Tacky, the Chief, was killed in the woods by one of the parties that went in purſuit of them; but ſome others of the ringleaders being taken, and a general inclination to revolt appearing among all the Koromantyn Negroes in the iſland, it was thought neceſſary to make a few terrible examples of ſome of the moſt guilty. Of three who were clearly proved to have been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's Valley, one was condemned to be burnt, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to periſh in that dreadful ſituation. The wretch that was burnt was made to ſit on the ground,

ground, and his body being chained to an iron ſtake, the fire was applied to his feet. He uttered not a groan, and ſaw his legs reduced to aſhes with the utmoſt firmneſs and compoſure; after which, one of his arms by ſome means getting looſe, he ſnatched a brand from the fire that was conſuming him, and flung it in the face of the executioner. The two that were hung up alive were indulged, at their own requeſt, with a hearty meal immediately before they were ſuſpended on the gibbet, which was erected in the parade of the town of Kingſton. From that time, until they expired, they never uttered the leaſt complaint, except only of cold in the night, but diverted themſelves all day long in diſcourſe with their countrymen, who were permitted, very improperly, to ſurround the gibbet. On the ſeventh day a notion prevailed among the ſpectators, that one of them wiſhed to communicate an important ſecret to his maſter, my near relation; who being in St. Mary's pariſh, the commanding officer ſent for me. I endeavoured, by means of an interpreter, to let him know that I was preſent; but I could not underſtand what he ſaid in return. I remember that both he and his fellow ſufferer laughed immoderately at ſomething that occured,—I know not what. The next morning one of them ſilently expired, as did the other on the morning of the ninth day.

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The courage, or unconcern, which the people of this country manifest at the approach of death, arises, doubtless, in a great measure, from their national manners, wars, and superstitions, which are all, in the highest degree, savage and sanguinary. A power over the lives of his slaves is possessed, and exercised too, on very frivolous occasions, without compunction or scruple, by every master of slaves on the Gold Coast. Fathers have the like power over their children. In their wars they are bloody and cruel beyond any nation that ever existed; for all such of their captives as they reserve not for slaves, they murder with circumstances of outrageous barbarity; cutting them across the face, and tearing away the under jaw, which they preserve as a trophy, leaving the miserable victims to perish in that condition. I have collected this account from themselves. They tell me likewise, that whenever a considerable man expires, several of his wives, and a great number of his slaves, are sacrificed at his funeral. This is done, say they, that he may be properly attended in the next world. This circumstance has been confirmed to me by every Gold Coast Negro that I have interrogated on the subject, and I have enquired of many *(c)*.

In

(c) The following particulars I collected from some of my own Koromantyn Negroes, whose veracity I had no reason to doubt:—*Clara*, a most faithful well-disposed woman, who was brought

In a country where executions are fo frequent, and human blood is fpilt with fo little remorfe, death muft neceffarily have loft many of its terrors; CHAP. III.

brought from the Gold Coaft to Jamaica the latter end of 1784, relates, "that fhe was born in a village near Anamaboo; that her father and mother, and their children (nine in number) were flaves to a great man named *Anamoa*, on whofe death fhe herfelf, and two of her brothers (who likewife belong to me) with feveral others of his flaves, were fold to pay his debts. *That twenty others were killed at his funeral.* I afked her which country fhe liked beft, Jamaica or Guiney? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, "*for that people were not killed there, as in Guiney, at the funeral of their mafters.*" She informed me alfo, in anfwer to fome other enquiries, of a remarkable fact (i. e.) that the natives of the Gold Coaft give their children the *yaws* (a frightful diforder) *by inoculation*; and fhe defcribed the manner of performing the operation to be making an incifion in the thigh, and putting in fome of the infectious matter. I afked her what benefit they expected from this practice? She anfwered, that by this means their infants had the diforder flightly, and recovered fpeedily, whereas by catching it at a later time of life, the difeafe, fhe faid, '*got into the bone*,' that was her expreffion.

Cudjoe, aged (as I fuppofe) about fifty, relates that he was born in the kingdom of Afiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poco. Cudjoe's elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quafhee, was adjudged to pay a fine to the man he had injured; which not being able to do, he delivered over him (Cudjoe) who was at that time, by his own account, a boy about fixteen, as a compenfation; and Quafhee immediately carried him off, and foon afterwards fold him to a Black flave-merchant, who having purchafed many others, carried them all to the fea-coaft (they were two months on their journey) and fold them to a Captain Reeder, who brought

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terrors; and the natives in general, conſcious they have no ſecurity even for the day that is paſſing over them, ſeem prepared for, and reſigned to, the fate that probably awaits them. This contempt of death, or indifference about life, they bring with them to the Weſt Indies; but if fortunately they fall into good hands at firſt, and become well ſettled, they acquire by degrees other ſentiments and notions. Nature reſumes her lawful influence over them. With the conſciouſneſs of ſecurity, the love of exiſtence alſo, amidſt all the evils that attend it in a ſtate of ſlavery, gains admiſſion into their boſoms. They feel it, and, ſuch is the force of habitual bar-

them to Jamaica. I aſked him, what right his brother had to ſell him? '*Becauſe*,' ſaid he, '*my father was dead*;' and by his account fathers have an unqueſtionable right to ſell their children, and probably, on the demiſe of the father, the ſame power is aſſumed by the eldeſt ſon over the younger branches. He relates further, that the king has the power of life and death, and that executions are very frequent. That when the king or any conſiderable man dies, a great number of his ſlaves are ſacrificed at his tomb. He pretends not to aſcertain any particular number, but remembers perfectly well the death of the old king whom Poco ſucceeded, and is poſitively certain that upwards of one hundred people were ſlaughtered on that occaſion. To convince me that he underſtood what he ſaid when he mentioned that number, he counted the fingers of both his hands ten times. He ſaith further, that wars are very frequent; that all able men are compelled to bear arms; and that when they take priſoners, the old and infirm are killed, and the young and able preſerved to be ſold for ſlaves.

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barity, ſeem aſhamed of their own weakneſs. A gentleman of Jamaica viſiting a valuable Koromantyn Negro that was ſick, and perceiving that he was thoughtful and dejected, endeavoured by ſoothing and encouraging language, to raiſe his drooping ſpirits. *Maſſa*, ſaid the Negro (in a tone of ſelf-reproach and conſcious degeneracy) *ſince me come to White man's country me lub (love) life too much!* CHAP. III.

EVEN the children brought from the Gold Coaſt manifeſt an evident ſuperiority, both in hardineſs of frame, and vigour of mind, over all the young people of the ſame age that are imported from other parts of Africa. The like firmneſs and intrepidity which are diſtinguiſhable in adults of this nation, are viſible in their boys at an age which might be thought too tender to receive any laſting impreſſion, either from precept or example.—I have been myſelf an eye-witneſs to the truth of this remark, in the circumſtance I am about to relate. A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had purchaſed at the ſame time ten Koromantyn boys, and the like number of Eboes (the eldeſt of the whole apparently not more than thirteen years of age) cauſed them all to be collected and brought before him in my preſence, to be marked on the breaſt. This operation is performed by heating a ſmall ſilver brand, compoſed of one or two

letters, in the flame of ſpirits of wine, and applying it to the ſkin, which is previouſly anointed with ſweet oil. The application is inſtantaneous, and the pain momentary. Nevertheleſs it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that the apparatus muſt have a frightful appearance to a child. Accordingly, when the firſt boy, who happened to be one of the Eboes, and the ſtouteſt of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he ſcreamed dreadfully, while his companions of the ſame nation manifeſted ſtrong emotions of ſympathetic terror. The gentleman ſtopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and, immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their boſoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impreſſion without flinching in the leaſt, ſnapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Eboes.

One cannot ſurely but lament, that a people thus naturally emulous and intrepid, ſhould be ſunk into ſo deplorable a ſtate of barbarity and ſuperſtition; and that their ſpirits ſhould ever be broken down by the yoke of ſlavery! Whatever may be alledged concerning their ferociouſneſs and implacability in their preſent notions of right and wrong, I am perſuaded that they poſſeſs qualities, which are capable of, and well deſerve cultivation and improvement.—But it is time to conclude my obſervations on this nation,

tion, which I ſhall do, with ſome account of their religion; for which my readers are indebted to the reſearches of an ingenious gentlemen of Jamaica, who is well acquainted with their language and manners. Its authenticity has been frequently confirmed to me, on my own enquiries among the Koromantyn Negroes themſelves. CHAP. III.

THEY believe that *Accompong*, the God of the heavens, is the creator of all things; a Deity of infinite goodneſs; to whom however they never offer ſacrifices, thinking it ſufficient to adore him with praiſes and thankſgiving.

Assarci is the god of the earth; to him they offer the firſt fruits of the ground, and pour out libations of the liquors they drink to his honour.

Ipboa is the god of the ſea: if the arrival of ſhips which trade upon their coaſt is delayed, they ſacrifice an hog to deprecate the wrath of Ipboa.

Obboney is a malicious deity, who pervades heaven, earth, and ſea; he is the author of all evil, and when his diſpleaſure is ſignified by the infliction of peſtilential diſorders, or otherwiſe, nothing will divert his anger but human ſacrifices; which are ſelected from captives taken in war, or, if there be none preſent, then from their ſlaves.

BESIDES the above deities, every family has

 a peculiar

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a peculiar tutelar ſaint, who is ſuppoſed to have been originally a human being like one of themſelves, and the firſt founder of their family; upon the anniverſary of whoſe burial, the whole number of his deſcendants aſſemble round his grave, and the oldeſt man, after offering up praiſes to Accompong, Aſſarci, Ipboa, and their tutelar deity, ſacrifices a cock or goat, by cutting its throat, and ſhedding the blood upon the grave. Every head of an houſehold of the family, next ſacrifices a cock, or other animal, in like manner, and as ſoon as all thoſe who are able to bring ſacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed, are dreſſed, and a great feſtival follows.

Among their other ſuperſtitions alſo, muſt not be omitted their mode of adminiſtering an oath of ſecrecy or purgation.—Human blood, and earth taken from the grave of ſome near relation, are mixed with water, and given to the party to be ſworn, who is compelled to drink the mixture, with an imprecation, that it may cauſe the belly to burſt, and the bones to rot, if the truth be not ſpoken. This teſt is frequently adminiſtered to their wives, on the ſuſpicion of infidelity, and the reſemblance which it bears to the trial of jealouſy by the *bitter water* deſcribed in the book of Numbers (chap. v.) is a curious and ſtriking circumſtance.

I NOW proceed to the people of Whidah, or Fida. The Negroes of this country are called generally in the Weſt Indies *Papaws*, and are unqueſtionably the moſt docile and beſt-diſpoſed ſlaves that are imported from any part of Africa. Without the fierce and ſavage manners of the Koromantyn Negroes, they are alſo happily exempt from the timid and deſponding temper of the Eboes, who will preſently be mentioned. The cheerful acquieſcence with which theſe people apply to the labours of the field, and their conſtitutional aptitude for ſuch employment, ariſe, without doubt, from the great attention paid to agriculture in their native country. Boſman ſpeaks with rapture of the improved ſtate of the ſoil, the number of villages, and the induſtry, riches, and obliging manners of the Natives. He obſerves, however, that they are much greater thieves than thoſe of the Gold Coaſt, and very unlike them in another reſpect, namely, in the dread of pain, and the apprehenſion of death. "They are," ſays he, "ſo very apprehenſive of death, that they are unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear *that* alone ſhould haſten their end; and no man dares to ſpeak of death in the preſence of the king, or any great man, under the penalty of ſuffering it himſelf, as a puniſhment for his preſumption." He relates further, that they are addicted to gaming beyond

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any people of Africa. All theſe propenſities, if I am rightly informed, are obſervable in the character of the Papaws in a ſtate of ſlavery in the Weſt Indies. That puniſhment which excites the Koromantyn to rebel, and drives the Ebo Negro to ſuicide, is received by the Papaws as the chaſtiſement of legal authority, to which it is their duty to ſubmit patiently. The caſe ſeems to be, that the generality of theſe people are in a ſtate of abſolute ſlavery in Africa, and, having been habituated to a life of labour, they ſubmit to a change of ſituation with little reluctance.

MANY of the Whidah Negroes are found to be circumciſed. Whether it be a religious ceremony common to all the tribes that go under the appellation of Papaws, I know not. It is practiſed univerſally by the *Nagoes*; a people that ſpeak the Whidah language; but I have met with Negroes from this part of the coaſt that diſavow the practice.

WE are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coaſt of near 300 Engliſh leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the Negroes imported from theſe vaſt and unexplored regions, except a tribe which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Mocoes*, are called in the Weſt Indies *Eboes*; and in general they appear to be the loweſt and moſt wretched

of

of all the nations of Africa. In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold Coaſt and Whidah Negroes; but it is a ſickly hue, and their eyes appear as if ſuffuſed with bile, even when they are in perfect health. I cannot help obſerving too, that the conformation of the face, in a great majority of them, very much reſembles that of the baboon. I believe indeed there is, in moſt of the nations of Africa, a greater elongation of the lower jaw, than among the people of Europe; but this diſtinction I think is more viſible among the Eboes, than in any other Africans. I mean not however to draw any concluſion of natural inferiority in theſe people to the reſt of the human race, from a circumſtance which perhaps is purely accidental, and no more to be conſidered as a proof of degradation, than the red hair and high cheek bones of the Natives of the North of Europe.

The great objection to the Eboes as ſlaves, is their conſtitutional timidity, and deſpondency of mind; which are ſo great as to occaſion them very frequently to ſeek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their own melancholy reflections. They require therefore the gentleſt and mildeſt treatment to reconcile them to their ſituation; but if their confidence be once obtained, they manifeſt as great fidelity, affection, and gratitude, as can reaſonably be expected from men

in

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in a ſtate of ſlavery. The females of this nation are better labourers than the men, probably from having been more hardly treated in Africa.

The depreſſion of ſpirits which theſe people ſeem to be under, on their firſt arrival in the Weſt Indies, gives them an air of ſoftneſs and ſubmiſſion, which forms a ſtriking contraſt to the frank and fearleſs temper of the Koromantyn Negroes. Nevertheleſs, the Eboes are in fact more truly ſavage than any nation of the Gold Coaſt; inaſmuch as many tribes among them, eſpecially the Moco tribe, have been, without doubt, accuſtomed to the ſhocking practice of feeding on human fleſh. This circumſtance I have had atteſted beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, by an intelligent truſt-worthy domeſtic of the Ebo nation, who acknowledged to me, though with evident ſhame and reluctance, (having lived many years among the Whites) that he had himſelf, in his youth, frequently regaled on this horrid banquet: and his account received a ſhocking confirmation from a circumſtance which occurred in the year 1770 in Antigua, where two Negroes of the ſame country were tried for killing and devouring one of their fellow-ſlaves in that iſland. They were purchaſed, a ſhort time before, by a gentleman of the name of Chriſtian, out of a ſhip from Old Calabar, and I am told were convicted on the cleareſt evidence.

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Of the religious opinions and modes of worſhip of the Eboes, we know but little; except that, like the inhabitants of Whidah, they pay adoration to certain reptiles, of which the guana (a ſpecies of lizard) is in the higheſt eſtimation *(d)*. They univerſally practiſe circumciſion, " which with ſome other of their ſuperſtitions (ſays Purchas) may ſeem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rites; for many countries of Africa admit circumciſion, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometaniſm; but are either Chriſtians, as the

(d) I have been aſſured by an intelligent perſon who had viſited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up human ſacrifices in their worſhip of this animal. Perhaps the certainty of this may be queſtioned; but the following anecdote is undoubtedly true. In the year 1787, two of the ſeamen of a Liverpool ſhip trading at Bonny, being aſhore watering, had the misfortune to kill a guana, as they were rolling a caſk to the beach. An outcry was immediately raiſed among the Natives, and the boat's crew were ſurrounded and ſeized, and all trade interdicted, until public juſtice ſhould be ſatisfied and appeaſed. The offenders, being carried before the king, or chief man of the place, were adjudged to die. However, the ſeverity of juſtice being ſoftened by a bribe from the captain, the ſentence was at length changed to the following, that they ſhould pay a fine of 700 bars (about £. 75) and remain in the country as ſlaves to the king, until the money ſhould be raiſed. The captain not being willing to advance ſo large a ſum for the redemption of theſe poor wretches, failed without them, and what became of them afterwards I have not heard.

Cophti,

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Cophti, Abiſſinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or raſe the ſkin with three lines drawn to the navel, eſteeming it neceſſary to ſalvation."

NEXT in order to the Whidah Negroes, are thoſe from Congo and Angola; whom I conſider to have been originally the ſame people. I can ſay but little of them that is appropriate and particular; except that they are in general a ſlender ſightly race, of a deep and gloſſy black (a tribe of the Congoes excepted, who very nearly reſemble the Eboes) and I believe of a diſpoſition naturally mild and docile. They appear to me to be fitter for domeſtic ſervice than for field-labour. They are ſaid however to become expert mechanicks; and, what is much to their honour, they are ſuppoſed to be more ſtrictly honeſt than many other of the African tribes.

HAVING thus recited ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me on contemplating the various African nations in the Weſt Indies ſeparately and diſtinct from each other, I ſhall now attempt an eſtimate of their general character and diſpoſitions, influenced, as undoubtedly they are in a great degree, by their ſituation and condition in a ſtate of ſlavery; circumſtances that ſoon efface the native original impreſſion which diſtinguiſhes one nation from another in Negroes newly imported,

imported, and create a ſimilitude of manners, and a uniformity of character throughout the whole body. CHAP. III.

Thus, notwithſtanding what has been related of the firmneſs and courage of the natives of the Gold Coaſt, it is certain that the Negroes in general in our iſlands (ſuch of them at leaſt as have been any length of time in a ſtate of ſervitude) are of a diſtruſtful and cowardly diſpoſition. So degrading is the nature of ſlavery, that fortitude of mind is loſt as free agency is reſtrained. To the ſame cauſe probably muſt be imputed their propenſity to conceal, or violate the truth; which is ſo general, that I think the vice of falſehood is one of the moſt prominent features in their character. If a Negro is aſked even an indifferent queſtion by his maſter, he ſeldom gives an immediate reply; but, affecting not to underſtand what is ſaid, compels a repetition of the queſtion, that he may have time to conſider, not what is the true anſwer, but what is the moſt politick one for him to give. The proneneſs obſervable in many of them to the vice of theft, has already been noticed; and I am afraid that evil communication makes it almoſt general.

It is no eaſy matter, I confeſs, to diſcriminate thoſe circumſtances which are the reſult of proximate cauſes, from thoſe which are the effects of national cuſtoms and early habits in ſavage life; but

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but I am afraid that cowardice and diffimulation have been the properties of flavery in all ages, and will continue to be fo, to the end of the world. It is a fituation that neceffarily fuppreffes many of the beft affections of the human heart.—If it calls forth any latent virtues, they are thofe of fympathy and compaffion towards perfons in the fame condition of life; and accordingly we find that the Negroes in general are ftrongly attached to their countrymen, but, above all, to fuch of their companions as came in the fame fhip with them from Africa. This is a ftriking circumftance: the term *fhipmate* is underftood among them as fignifying a relationfhip of the moft endearing nature; perhaps as recalling the time when the fufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal fympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.

But their benevolence, with a very few exceptions, extends no further. The fofter virtues are feldom found in the bofom of the enflaved African. Give him fufficient authority, and he becomes the moft remorfelefs of tyrants. Of all the degrees of wretchednefs endured by the fons of men, the greateft, affuredly, is the mifery which is felt by thofe who are unhappily doomed to be the Slaves of Slaves; a moft unnatural relation, which fometimes takes place in the fugar plantations;

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tions; as for inſtance, when it is found neceſſary to inſtruct young Negroes in certain trades or handicraft employments. In thoſe caſes it is uſual to place them in a ſort of apprenticeſhip to ſuch of the old Negroes as are competent to give them inſtruction; but the harſhneſs with which theſe people enforce their authority, is extreme; and it ſerves in ſome degree to leſſen the indignation which a good mind neceſſarily feels at the abuſes of power by the Whites, to obſerve that the Negroes themſelves, when inveſted with command, give full play to their revengeful paſſions; and exerciſe all the wantonneſs of cruelty without reſtraint or remorſe.

The ſame obſervation may be made concerning their conduct towards the inferior animal creation. Their treatment of cattle under their direction is brutal beyond belief. Even the uſeful and ſocial qualities of the dog ſecure to him no kind uſage from an African maſter. Although there is ſcarce a Negro that is not attended by one, they ſeem to maintain theſe poor animals ſolely for the purpoſe of having an object whereon to exerciſe their caprice and cruelty. And, by the way, it is a ſingular circumſtance, and not the leſs true for being ſomewhat ludicrous, that the animal itſelf, when the property of a Negro, betrays at firſt ſight that ſuch is his condition; for, loſing his playful propenſities, he ſeems

seems to feel the inferiority of his station, and actually crouches before such of his own species, as are used to better company. With the manners, he acquires also the cowardly, thievish, and sullen disposition of his African tyrant.

But, notwithstanding what has been related of the selfish and unrelenting temper of the enslaved Africans, they are said to be highly susceptible of the passion of love. It has even been supposed that they are more subject to, and sensible of, its impression, than the natives of colder climates. "The Negro (says Dr. Robertson) glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate." "The tender passion (says another writer) is the most ardent one in the breast of the enslaved African.—It is the only source of his joys, and his only solace in affliction." Monsieur de Chanvalon (the historian of Martinico) expatiates on the same idea with great eloquence.—"Love, (says he) the child of nature, to whom she entrusts her own preservation; whose progress no difficulties can retard, and who triumphs even in chains; that principle of life, as necessary to the harmony of the universe, as the air which we breathe, inspires and invigorates all the thoughts and purposes of the Negro, and lightens the yoke of his slavery. No perils can abate, nor impending punishments restrain, the ardour of his passion.—He leaves his master's habitation, and traversing

verſing the wilderneſs by night, diſregarding its noxious inhabitants, ſeeks a refuge from his ſorrows, in the boſom of his faithful and affectionate miſtreſs."

ALL this however is the language of poetry and the viſions of romance. The poor Negro has no leiſure in a ſtate of ſlavery to indulge a paſſion, which, however deſcended, is nouriſhed by idleneſs. If by love, is meant that tender attachment to one individual object, which, in civiliſed life, is deſire heightened by ſentiment, and refined by delicacy, I doubt if it ever found a place in an African boſom.—The Negroes in the Weſt Indies, both men and women, would conſider it as the greateſt exertion of tyranny, and the moſt cruel of all hardſhips, to be compelled to confine themſelves to a ſingle connection with the other ſex; and I am perſuaded that any attempt to reſtrain their preſent licentious and diſſolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them, as is ſtrenuouſly recommended by many perſons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpoſe. Perhaps it may be thought that the Negroes are not altogether reduced to ſo deplorable a ſtate of ſlavery, as is commonly repreſented, when it is known that they boldly claim and exerciſe a right of diſpoſing of themſelves in this reſpect, accord-

ing to their own will and pleaſure, without any controul from their maſters.

THAT paſſion therefore to which (dignified by the name of Love) is aſcribed the power of ſoftening all the miſeries of ſlavery, is mere animal deſire, implanted by the great Author of all things for the preſervation of the ſpecies. This the Negroes, without doubt, poſſeſs in common with the reſt of the animal creation, and they indulge it, as inclination prompts, in an almoſt promiſcuous intercourſe with the other ſex; or at leaſt in temporary connections, which they form without ceremony, and diſſolve without reluctance. When age indeed begins to mitigate the ardour, and leſſen the fickleneſs of youth, many of them form attachments, which, ſtrengthened by habit, and endeared by the conſciouſneſs of mutual imbecility, produce a union for life. It is not uncommon to behold a venerable couple of this ſtamp, who, tottering under the load of years, contribute to each other's comfort, with a chearful aſſiduity which is at once amiable and affecting.

THE ſituation of the aged among the Negroes is indeed commonly ſuch as to make them ſome amends for the hardſhips and ſufferings of their youth. The labour required of the men is ſeldom any thing more than to guard the proviſion

viſion grounds; and the women are chiefly employed in attending the children, in nurſing the ſick, or in other eaſy avocations; but their happineſs chiefly ariſes from the high veneration in which old age is held by the Negroes in general, and this I conſider as one of the few pleaſing traits in their character. In addreſſing ſuch of their fellow-ſervants as are any ways advanced in years, they prefix to their names the appellation of Parent, as *Ta* Quaco, and *Ma* Quaſheba; *Ta* and *Ma*, ſignifying Father and Mother, by which deſignation they mean to convey not only the idea of filial reverence, but alſo that of eſteem and fondneſs. Neither is the regard thus diſplayed towards the aged, confined to outward ceremonies and terms of reſpect alone. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, furniſhing one of the few exceptions to their general unrelenting and ſelfiſh character. The whole body of Negroes on a plantation muſt be reduced to a deplorable ſtate of wretchedneſs, if, at any time, they ſuffer their aged companions to want the common neceſſaries of life, or even many of its comforts, as far as they can procure them. They ſeem to me to be actuated on theſe occaſions by a kind of involuntary impulſe, operating as a primitive law of nature, which ſcorns to wait the cold dictates of reaſon: among them, it is the exerciſe of a common duty,

 which

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which courts no obſervation, and looks for no applauſe *(e)*.

Among other propenſities and qualities of the Negroes muſt not be omitted their loquaciouſneſs. They are as fond of exhibiting ſet ſpeeches, as orators by profeſſion; but it requires a conſiderable ſhare of patience to hear them throughout; for they commonly make a long preface before they come to the point; beginning with a tedious enumeration of their paſt ſervices and hardſhips. They dwell with peculiar energy (if the fact admits it) on the number of children they have preſented to *Maſſa (Maſter)* after which they recapitulate ſome of the inſtances of particular kindneſs ſhewn them by their owner or employer, adducing theſe alſo as proofs of their own merit; it being evident, they think, that no ſuch kindneſs can be gratuitous. This is their

(e) The greateſt affront (ſays Mr. Long) that can be offered to a Negro, is to curſe his father and mother, or any of his progenitors. It may not be improper in this place to add, that many of the Negroes attain to great longevity.—In February 1792, a Black woman of the name of Flora Gale died at the very extraordinary age of 120, at Savanna-la-Mar in Jamaica. She remembered perfectly well the great earthquake in 1692, which proved ſo fatal to Port Royal. She left a numerous progeny of children, grand and great-grandchildren, and it is remarkable that ſhe always refuſed to be baptized, aſſigning for reaſon her deſire to have a grand Negro dance at her funeral, according to the cuſtom of Africa; a ceremony never allowed in Jamaica at the burial of ſuch as have been chriſtened.

uſual

ufual exordium, as well when they bring complaints againft others, as when they are called upon to defend themfelves; and it is in vain to interrupt either plaintiff or defendant. Yet I have fometimes heard them convey much ftrong meaning in a narrow compafs: I have been furprifed by fuch figurative expreffions, and (notwithftanding their ignorance of abftract terms) fuch pointed fentences, as would have reflected no difgrace on poets and philofophers. One inftance recurs to my memory, of fo fignificant a turn of expreffion in a common labouring Negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the converfation of White people, as is alone, I think, fufficient to demonftrate that Negroes have minds very capable of obfervation. It was a fervant who had brought me a letter, and, while, I was preparing an anfwer, had, through wearinefs and fatigue, fallen afleep on the floor: as foon as the papers were ready, I directed him to be awakened; but this was no eafy matter. When the Negro who attempted to awake him, exclaimed in the ufual jargon, *You no hear Maffa call you?* that is, Don't you hear Mafter call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning compofedly to his flumbers, *Sleep hab no Maffa.* (Sleep has no Mafter.)

Of thofe imitative arts in which perfection

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can be attained only in an improved ſtate of ſociety, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Negroes have but little knowledge. An opinion prevails in Europe that they poſſeſs organs peculiarly adapted to the ſcience of muſick; but this I believe is an ill founded idea. In vocal harmony they diſplay neither variety nor compaſs. Nature ſeems in this reſpect to have dealt more penuriouſly by them than towards the reſt of the human race. As practical muſicians, ſome of them, by great labour and careful inſtruction, become ſufficiently expert to bear an under-part in a publick concert; but I do not recollect ever to have ſeen or heard of a Negro who could truly be called a fine performer on any capital inſtrument. In general they prefer a loud and long-continued noiſe to the fineſt harmony, and frequently conſume the whole night *in beating on a board with a ſtick*. This is in fact one of their chief muſical inſtruments; beſides which, they have the *Banja* or *Merriwang*, the *Dundo*, and the *Goombay*; all of African origin. The firſt is an imperfect kind of violincello; except that it is played on by the finger like the guitar; producing a diſmal monotony of four notes. The Dundo is preciſely a tabor; and the Goombay is a ruſtick drum; being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a ſheep's ſkin. From ſuch inſtruments nothing like

like a regular tune can be expected, nor is it attempted. CHAP. III.

Their songs are commonly *impromptu*, and there are among them individuals who resemble the *improvisatore*, or extempore bards, of Italy; but I cannot say much for their poetry. Their tunes in general are characteristick of their national manners; those of the Eboes being soft and languishing; of the Koromantyns heroick and martial. At the same time, there is observable, in most of them, a predominant melancholy, which, to a man of feeling, is sometimes very affecting.

At their merry meetings, and midnight festivals, they are not without ballads of another kind, adapted to such occasions; and here they give full scope to a talent for ridicule and derision, which is exercised not only against each other, but also, not unfrequently, at the expence of their owner or employer; but most part of their songs at these places are fraught with obscene ribaldry, and accompanied with dances in the highest degree licentious and wanton.

At other times, more especially at the burial of such among them as were respected in life, or venerable through age, they exhibit a sort of *Pyrrhick* or warlike dance, in which their bodies are strongly agitated by running, leaping, and jumping, with may violent and frantick gestures

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and contortions. Their funeral ſongs too are all of the heroick or martial caſt; affording ſome colour to the prevalent notion, that the Negroes conſider death not only as a welcome and happy releaſe from the calamities of their condition, but alſo as a paſſport to the place of their nativity; a deliverance which, while it frees them from bondage, reſtores them to the ſociety of their deareſt, long-loſt, and lamented relatives in Africa. But I am afraid that this, like other European notions concerning the Negroes, is the dream of poetry; the ſympathetick effuſion of a fanciful or too credulous an imagination *(f)*. The Negroes,

(f) Perhaps it was ſome ſuch imagination that gave riſe to the following little poem—the production of early youth. And now publiſhed for the firſt time.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO FUNERAL.

Mahali dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: The ſable train
By youthful virgins led:
Daughters of injur'd Africk, ſay
Why raiſe ye thus th' heroick lay,
Why triumph o'er the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye:
'Tis now the Hero lives, they cry:—
Releas'd from ſlav'ry's chain:
Beyond the billowy ſurge he flies,
And joyful views his native ſkies,
And long loſt bowers again.

On

groes, in general, are ſo far from courting death, that, among ſuch of them as have reſided any length of time in the Weſt Indies, ſuicide is much CHAP. III.

On Koromantyn's palmy ſoil
Heroick deeds and martial toil
Shall fill each glorious day;
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,
And bliſs unbought, unmix'd delights,
Paſt cruel wrongs repay.

Nor lordly pride's ſtern avarice there,
Alone ſhall nature's bounties ſhare;
To all her children free.—
For thee, the dulcet Reed ſhall ſpring,
His balmy bowl the Coco bring,
Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The thunder, hark! 'Tis Africk's God,
He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,
And ſpeeds th' impatient hours;
From Niger's golden ſtream he calls;
Fair freedom comes,—oppreſſion falls;
And vengeance yet is ours!

Now, Chriſtian, now, in wild diſmay,
Of Africk's proud revenge the prey,
Go roam th' affrighted wood;—
Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,
Thy race ſhall prowl with ſavage yell,
And glut their rage for blood!

But ſoft,—beneath yon tam'rind ſhade,
Now let the Hero's limbs be laid;
Sweet ſlumbers bleſs the brave:
There ſhall the breezes ſhed perfume,
Nor livid lightnings blaſt the bloom
That decks MAHALI's grave.

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much lefs frequent than among the free-born, happy, and civilifed inhabitants of Great Britain. With them, equally with the Whites, nature fhrinks back at approaching diffolution; and when, at any time, fudden or untimely death overtakes any of their companions, inftead of rejoicing at fuch an event, they never fail to impute it to the malicious contrivances and diabolical arts of fome practitioners in *Obeah*, a term of African origin, fignifying forcery or witchcraft, the prevalence of which, among many of their countrymen, all the Negroes moft firmly and implicitly believe. We may conclude, therefore, that their funeral fongs and ceremonies are commonly nothing more than the diffonance of favage barbarity and riot; as remote from the fond fuperftition to which they are afcribed, as from the fober dictates of a rational forrow.

Having mentioned the practice of *Obeah*, the influence of which has fo powerful an effect on the Negroes, as to bias, in a confiderable degree, their general conduct, difpofitions, and manners, I fhall conclude the prefent chapter by prefenting to my readers the following very curious account of this extraordinary fuperftition, and its effects: it was tranfmitted by the Agent of Jamaica to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, and by them fubjoined to their report on the flave trade; and, if I miftake not, the

the publick are chiefly indebted for it to the diligent researches, and accurate pen, of Mr. Long. CHAP. III.

"The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obia* (for it is variously written) we conceive to be the adjective, and *Obe* or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the words *Obia*-men or women, are meant those who practise *Obi*. The origin of the term we should consider as of no importance in our answer to the questions proposed, if, in search of it, we were not led to disquisitions that are highly gratifying to curiosity. From the learned Mr. Bryant's (g) commentary upon the word *Oph*, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—"A serpent, in the Egyptian language, "was called *Ob* or *Aub*."—"*Obion* is still the "Egyptian name for a serpent."—"Moses, in "the name of God, forbids the Israelites ever "to enquire of the demon *Ob*, which is trans- "lated in our Bible Charmer, or Wizard, Di- "vinator, aut Sorcilegus."—"The woman at "Endor is called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pytho- "nissa; and *Oubaios* (he cites from *Horus Apollo*) "was the name of the Basilisk or Royal Serpent, "emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular "Deity of Africa." This derivation, which applies to one particular sect, the remnant pro-

(g) Mythology, vol. 1. p. 48, 475, and 478.

bably

bably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote thoſe Africans who in that iſland practiſe witchcraft or ſorcery, comprehending alſo the claſs of what are called Myal-men, or thoſe who, by means of a narcotick potion, made with the juice of an herb (ſaid to be the branched *Calalue* or ſpecies of *Solanum)* which occaſions a trance or profound ſleep of a certain duration, endeavour to convince the deluded ſpectators of their power to re-animate dead bodies.

" As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the iſland, and from the current teſtimony of all the Negroes we have ever converſed with on the ſubject, the profeſſors of *Obi* are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the ſcience with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is ſo univerſally practiſed, that we believe there are few of the large eſtates poſſeſſing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldeſt and moſt crafty are thoſe who uſually attract the greateſt devotion and confidence; thoſe whoſe hoary heads, and a ſomewhat peculiarly harſh and forbidding in their aſpect, together with ſome ſkill in plants of the medicinal and poiſonous ſpecies, have qualified them for ſucceſsful impoſition upon the weak and credulous. The Negroes in general, whether

whether Africans or Creoles, revere, consult, and fear them; to these oracles they resort, and with the most implicit faith, upon all occasions, whether for the cure of disorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or insults, the conciliating of favour, the discovery and punishment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events. The trade which these impostors carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and sell their *Obies* adapted to different cases and at different prices. A veil of mystery is studiously thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and discovery of the White people. The deluded Negroes, who thoroughly believe in their supernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the stoutest among them tremble at the very sight of the ragged bundle, the bottle or the egg-shells, which are stuck in the thatch or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. In cases of poison, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant Negroes, ascribed entirely to the potent workings of *Obi*. The wiser Negroes hesitate to reveal their suspicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the *Obeah-men* against any who should betray them: it is very difficult

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difficult therefore for the White proprietor to diſtinguiſh the *Obeah profeſſor* from any other Negro upon his plantation; and ſo infatuated are the Blacks in general, that but few inſtances occur of their having aſſumed courage enough to impeach theſe miſcreants. With minds ſo firmly prepoſſeſſed, they no ſooner find *Obi ſet for them* near the door of their houſe, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themſelves up for loſt. When a Negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the *Obeah*-man or woman; it is then made known among his fellow Blacks, that *Obi is ſet* for the thief; and as ſoon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no reſource is left but in the ſuperior ſkill of ſome more eminent *Obeah-man* of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if, after gaining ſuch an ally, he ſhould ſtill fancy himſelf affected, he preſently falls into a decline, under the inceſſant horror of impending calamities. The ſlighteſt painful ſenſation in the head, the bowels, or any other part, any caſual loſs or hurt, confirms his apprehenſions, and he believes himſelf the devoted victim of an inviſible and irreſiſtible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulneſs forſake him, his ſtrength decays, his diſturbed imagination is haunted without

refpite, his features wear the fettled gloom of defpondency: dirt, or any other unwholefome fubftance, become his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually finks into the grave. A Negro, who is taken ill, enquires of the *Obeah-man* the caufe of his ficknefs, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he fhall die or recover? The oracle generally afcribes the diftemper to the malice of fome particular perfon by name, and advifes to fet *Obi* for that perfon; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate defpair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain confequence. Thofe anomalous fymptoms which originate from caufes deeply rooted in the mind, fuch as the terrors of *Obi*, or from poifons, whofe operation is flow and intricate, will baffle the fkill of the ableft phyfician.

"Considering the multitude of occafions which may provoke the Negroes to exercife the powers of *Obi* againft each other, and the aftonifhing influence of this fuperftition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very confiderable portion of the annual mortality among the Negroes of Jamaica to this fafcinating mifchief.

"The *Obi* is ufually compofed of a farrago of materials, moft of which are enumerated in the Jamaica law *(h)*, viz. "Blood, feathers, parrots

(h) Paffed 1760.

"beaks,

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" beaks, dogs teeth, alligators teeth, broken " bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-ſhells."

" WITH a view to illuſtrate the deſcription we have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have ſubjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica; not that they are peculiar to that iſland only, for we believe ſimilar examples may be found in other Weſt India colonies. *Pere Labat*, in his hiſtory of Martinico, has mentioned ſome which are very remarkable *(i)*.

" IT may ſeem extraordinary, that a practice alledged to be ſo frequent in Jamaica ſhould not have received an earlier check from the legiſlature. The truth is, that the ſkill of ſome Negroes, in the art of poiſoning, has been noticed ever ſince the coloniſts became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practiſed phyſick in Jamaica in the laſt century, have mentioned particular inſtances of it. The ſecret and inſidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suſpicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: theſe murderers have *ſometimes* been brought to juſtice, but it is reaſonable to believe that a far greater number have eſcaped with impunity. In regard to the other

(i) Tome ii. p. 59. 447. 499. 506.

and

and more common tricks of *Obi*, ſuch as hanging up feathers, bottles, egg-ſhells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate Negroes of a thieviſh diſpoſition from plundering huts, hog-ſtyes, or proviſion-grounds, theſe were laughed at by the White inhabitants as harmleſs ſtratagems, contrived by the more ſagacious, for deterring the more ſimple and ſuperſtitious Blacks, and ſerving for much the ſame purpoſe as the ſcarecrows which are in general uſed among our Engliſh farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable inſurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold Coaſt Negroes broke out in the pariſh of St. Mary, and ſpread through almoſt every other diſtrict of the iſland, an old Koromantyn Negro, the chief inſtigator and oracle of the inſurgents in that pariſh, who had adminiſtered the Fetiſh or ſolemn oath to the conſpirators, and furniſhed them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution ſtruck the inſurgents with a general panick, from which they never afterwards recovered. The examinations which were taken at that period, firſt opened the eyes of the publick to the very dangerous tendency of the *Obeah* practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their ſuppreſſion and puniſh-

 ment.

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ment. But neither the terror of this law, the ſtrict inveſtigation which has ever ſince been made after the profeſſors of *Obi*, nor the many examples of thoſe who from time to time have been hanged or tranſported, have hitherto produced the deſired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this ſect, like others in the world, has flouriſhed under perſecution; or that freſh ſupplies are annually introduced from the African ſeminaries.

The following is the paper referred to in the preceding account.

OBEAH PRACTICE.

" WE have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the ſtricteſt veracity, who is now in London, and ready to atteſt the truth of them.

" UPON returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, he found that a great many of his Negroes had died during his abſence; and that of ſuch as remained alive, at leaſt one-half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day; others were taken ill, and began to decline under the ſame ſymptoms. Every means were tried by medicines,

dicines, and the moſt careful nurſing, to preſerve the lives of the feebleſt; but in ſpite of all his endeavours, this depopulation went on for above a twelvemonth longer, with more or leſs intermiſſion, and without his being able to aſcertain the real cauſe, though the *Obeah practice* was ſtrongly ſuſpected, as well by himſelf, as by the doctor and other White perſons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the iſland, and particularly among the Negroes of the *Papaw* or *Popo* country. Still he was unable to verify his ſuſpicions, becauſe the patients conſtantly denied their having any thing to do with perſons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a Negreſs, who had been ill for ſome time, came one day and informed him, that feeling it was impoſſible for her to live much longer, ſhe thought herſelf bound in duty, before ſhe died, to impart a very great ſecret, and acquaint him with the true cauſe of her diſorder, in hopes that the diſcloſure might prove the means of ſtopping that miſchief, which had already ſwept away ſuch a number of her fellow-ſlaves. She proceeded to ſay, that her ſtep-mother (a woman of the *Popo* country, above eighty years old, but ſtill hale and active) had put *Obi upon her*, as ſhe had alſo done upon thoſe who had lately died; and that the old woman had practiſed *Obi* for as many years paſt as ſhe could remember.

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"The other Negroes of the plantation no ſooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their maſter, and confirmed the truth of it, adding, that ſhe had carried on this buſineſs ever ſince her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood.—Upon this he repaired directly, with ſix White ſervants, to the old woman's houſe, and forcing open the door, obſerved the whole inſide of the roof (which was of thatch) and every crevice of the walls ſtuck with the implements of her trade, conſiſting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thouſand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, cloſe covered, was found concealed under her bed.—It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimenſions, large and ſmall, whitened on the outſide, and variouſly compounded, ſome with hair and rags, or feathers of all ſorts, and ſtrongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper ſection of the ſkulls of cats, or ſtuck round with cats teeth and claws, or with human or dogs teeth, and ſome glaſs beads of different colours; there were alſo a great many egg-ſhells filled with a viſcous or gummy ſubſtance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine, and many little bags ſtuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this diſtance of time be recollected. The houſe was inſtantly

inſtantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidſt the general acclamations of all his other Negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the iſland, which would have puniſhed her with death; but, from a principle of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a party of Spaniards, who (as ſhe was thought not incapable of doing ſome trifling kind of work) were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure, his Negroes ſeemed all to be animated with new ſpirits, and the malady ſpread no farther among them. The total of his loſſes in the courſe of about fifteen years preceding the diſcovery, and imputable ſolely to the *Obeah practice*, he eſtimates at leaſt, at one hundred Negroes.

OBEAH TRIALS.

"HAVING received ſome further information upon this ſubject from another Jamaica gentleman, who ſat upon *two* trials, we beg leave to deliver the ſame in his own words, as a ſupplement to what we have already had the honour of ſubmitting.

"IN the year 1760, the influence of the pro-

feſſors of the *Obeah art* was ſuch, as to induce a great many of the Negro ſlaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave riſe to the law which was then made againſt the practice of *Obi.*

" ASSURANCE was given to theſe deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in order to render them ſo, the *Obeah-men* furniſhed them with a powder, with which they were to rub themſelves.

" IN the firſt engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many priſoners taken; amongſt the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to diſcloſe many important matters, on condition that his life ſhould be ſpared; which was promiſed. He then related the active part which the Negroes, known among them by the name of *Obeah-men*, had taken in propagating the inſurrection; one of whom was thereupon apprehended, tried (for rebellious conſpiracy) convicted, and ſentenced to death.

N. B. This was the Koromantyn Obeah-man alluded to in our firſt paper.

" AT the place of execution, he bid defiance to the executioner, telling him, that " It was not in the power of the White people to kill him." And the Negroes (ſpectators) were greatly perplexed when they ſaw him expire. Upon other

Obeah-

Obeah-men, who were apprehended at that time, various experiments were made with electrical machines and magic lanterns, but with very little effect, except on one, who, after receiving some very severe shocks, acknowledged that "his master's *Obi* exceeded his own." CHAP. III.

"THE gentleman from whom we have this account, remembers having sat *twice* on trials of *Obeah-men*, who were both convicted of selling their *Obeah preparations*, which had occasioned the death of the parties to whom they had been administered; notwithstanding which, the lenity of their judges prevailed so far, that they were only punished with transportation. To prove the fact, two witnesses were deemed necessary, with corroborating circumstances."

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Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa.—Obſervations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the Britiſh Nation only.—The probable conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, both in Africa and the Weſt Indies, conſidered.—Diſproportions of ſexes in the number of Slaves annually exported from Africa.—Cauſes thereof.—Mode of tranſporting Negroes to the Weſt Indies, and regulations recently eſtabliſhed by act of parliament.—Effect of thoſe regulations.

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IT hath been obſerved in a former chapter, that no certain and preciſe account is eaſily to be obtained of the means by which the market for ſlaves is annually kept up and ſupported in Africa. The ſeveral inſtances that are given of ſlavery ariſing from captivity in war, delinquency and debt, ſeem inadequate to ſo regular and abundant a ſupply. It is difficult to imagine that caſual contributions of this kind, can poſſibly furniſh an annual export of 74,000 *(a)*. Having

(a) Beſides which great numbers are ſupplied from the nations bordering on the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, for the emperor of Morocco and the ſtates of Barbary. Caravans alſo travel from thence acroſs the continent to Upper Egypt

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Having an opportunity, a few years ago, of consulting a very intelligent perſon on this point, who had viſited many parts of the coaſt, and appeared to be a man of veracity and candour, I received from him, in writing, an anſwer, which I ſhall preſent to my readers *verbatim*; and ſubjoin ſuch further information as I have been able to collect. The anſwer which I received, was given in the words following:—" In all parts of the coaſt, and I apprehend it to be the ſame inland, the body of the people are in a ſtate of abſolute and unlimited ſlavery: their children are born to no other inheritance, and are liable to be ſold by their owners as they think proper. Moſt parts of the coaſt differ in their governments; ſome are abſolute monarchies, while others draw near to an ariſtocracy. In both, the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exerciſed as often as criminal caſes require, unleſs death is commuted into ſlavery; in which caſe the offender is ſold, and if the ſhipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death.

Egypt with conſiderable ſupplies of Negroes, ſome of which are ſent afterwards to Conſtantinople. A very curious and intereſting account of this traffick is given in the Report of the Lords of the Privy Council. Great numbers of ſlaves are likewiſe ſent from Mozambique, and the ports on the eaſtern coaſt, to Perſia, Goa, and other parts of the Eaſt Indies. Hence it has been calculated that Africa is drained annually of not leſs than 150,000 of its natives.

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death. Fathers of free condition have power to ſell their children, but this power is but very ſeldom enforced. I never knew an inſtance of it but once, and then the father was ſo execrated by his neighbours, for the act of ſelling a ſon and daughter, that he ſhortly afterwards fell into a ſtate of deſpondency and died. The family was of ſome diſtinction, and the ſon and daughter were bought by a friendly captain, who I know afterwards gave freedom to one of them, and I believe he gave it to both. I never knew another inſtance of this kind, nor do I believe there is one ſlave in a thouſand procured in this way. Neither do I imagine that there are many procured by wars or inteſtine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people are born ſlaves to great men, reared as ſuch, held as property, and as property ſold. There are indeed many circumſtances by which a free man may become a ſlave: ſuch as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in ſome of ſuch caſes, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewiſe, become the ſlaves of his creditors, and may be ſold. Adultery is commonly puniſhed in the ſame manner; both the offending parties being ſold, and the purchaſe-money paid to the injured huſband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the Negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poiſoning) is another, and a very common offence, for

which

which ſlavery is adjudged the lawful puniſhment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes which ſubject the offender and his children to be ſold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy.

Such is the account which I received, and it is confirmed by ſeveral of the witneſſes that were examined by the Committee of the Privy Council, and by others that appeared before the Houſe of Commons; but it is contradicted in ſome material circumſtances by other gentlemen, whoſe examinations were taken at the ſame time, and to whoſe authority much reſpect is due. Mr. Penny aſſerts, that although three-fourths of the inhabitants of the Windward Coaſt are ſlaves to the other fourth, yet that theſe local and domeſtick ſlaves are never ſold, unleſs for crimes. He is of opinion that in no country, either in the maritime diſtricts or in the interior parts of Africa, are ſlaves bred for ſale, but that moſt of thoſe which are diſpoſed of to the Europeans, are ſold in conſequence of delinquency, or captivity in war. The ſame, or nearly the ſame, account is given of the Fantyn nation by Mr. Norris; who obſerves, that "a conſiderable portion of the community are perſons born ſlaves, but that theſe have peculiar privileges, and enjoy many advantages,

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advantages, which the ſlaves of the neighbouring countries do not, and cannot be ſold at the caprice of their maſters." His opinion is, that the number of ſlaves furniſhed in the Fantyn country (about 2,000 annually) is made up by delinquency and debt *(b)*.

UNDER ſuch contradictory information, it occurred to me, during my reſidence in Jamaica, to examine many of the Negroes themſelves. I mean Negroes newly arrived from Africa; for from thoſe who have reſided any length of time in the Weſt Indies, it is difficult to obtain, even to enquiries of an indifferent nature, ſuch anſwers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is ſeldom, for inſtance, that any Guiney Negro will acknowledge that he was in a ſtate of ſlavery in his native country. Obſerving the reſpect and pre-eminence allowed to wealth and conſequence among the Whites, and the privileges which attach to freedom in the Weſt Indies, among thoſe of his own colour who are born or rendered free, he is tempted, whether juſtly or not, to aſſert his claim

(b) Several other witneſſes ſpeak of the privileges which attach to domeſtick ſlaves in Africa, but it is obſervable that many of theſe admit, and not one I believe denies, that the African maſter has the power of putting ſuch ſlaves to death, with impunity, whenever he thinks proper; and it will preſently be ſhewn from the teſtimony of ſome of the Negroes themſelves, that it is a miſtake to ſuppoſe the maſter cannot ſell them at pleaſure.

to

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to ſome degree of conſideration from his paſt, if not from his preſent condition; and it is a natural and excuſable propenſity. Conceiving therefore that the truth might be beſt obtained from Negroes recently imported, I enquired of many young people, from different parts of Africa, concerning the circumſtances of their captivity and ſale, and, having reduced their information to writing, I interrogated many of them again on the ſame ſubject, after an interval of ſeveral months. If the ſame account preciſely was given by the ſame people a ſecond time, I commonly conſidered it as grounded in truth. On other occaſions, I have examined brothers and ſiſters apart. If their information agreed in minute particulars, I could have no reaſon to ſuſpect them of falſehood. Of five-and-twenty young perſons of both ſexes whom I thus interrogated, fifteen frankly declared that they were born to ſlavery, and were either ſold to pay the debts, or bartered away to ſupply the wants of their owners. Five were ſecretly kidnapped in the interior country, and ſold to Black merchants, who conveyed them from an immenſe diſtance to the ſea-coaſt, and ſold them to the ſhip-maſters that brought them to Jamaica. The other five appeared to have fallen victims in ſome of thoſe petty wars which it is probable rapacity and revenge reciprocally inſtigate

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instigate throughout the whole continent of Africa *(c)*. On such occasions, the young and the able are carried into captivity by the victors, and

(c) Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to be presented with a few of these examinations, as they were taken down at the time, and without any view to publication.

Adam (a Congo) a boy as I guess about fourteen, his country name *Sarri*, came from a vast distance inland, was waylaid and stole, in the path about three miles from his own village, by one of his countrymen. It was early in the morning, and the man hid him all day in the woods, and marched him in the night. He was conducted in this manner for a month, and then sold to another Black man for a gun, some powder and shot, and a quantity of salt. He was sold a second time for a keg of brandy. His last-mentioned purchaser bought several other boys in the same manner, and when he had collected twenty, sent them down to the sea-coast, where they were sold to a captain of a ship. He relates further, that his father, *Scindia Quante*, was a chief or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he sold as slaves.

Quaw and *Quamina* (brothers) from the Gold Coast, one of them, as I guess, about twenty years old, the other eighteen, were born slaves to a man named *Banafou*, who had a great many other slaves, and sold these two to the captain that brought them to Jamaica. On being asked for what cause their master sold them, they supposed the question implied a charge against them of misconduct, and one of them replied with great quickness, that they were not the only slaves that were sold in Guiney without having been guilty of any crime: their master, they said, owed money, and sold them to pay his debts.

Asiba, a Gold Coast girl, aged about fifteen, was a slave to a man named Quamina Yati. Her master sold her and two others to the same captain, for a quantity of linen and other goods.

Yamousa,

and the aged and infirm commonly murdered on the ſpot. By theſe means, and the commutation of death into ſlavery for crimes real and pretended, are the nations of Europe ſupplied; and it cannot ſurely be a queſtion, amongſt a humane

Yamouſa, a *Chamba* youth, about ſixteen, was a ſlave to a perſon named *Soubadou*; who ſold him, together with a cow, for a gun, a quantity of other goods, and ſome brandy.

Oliver, from *Aſſiantee*—his country name *Sang*—a young man, as I gueſs, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. His father was a free man, a carpenter—lived in a village far from the ſea. The village was attacked by a party of Fantees, who came in the night, and ſet fire to the houſes, and killed moſt of the inhabitants with guns and cutlaſſes—particularly the old. The young people they took priſoners, and afterwards ſold him and two others, for a piece of gold called *ſica*, to a Black merchant, who carried them to the Fantee country.—He was afterwards ſold or transferred over to ſix different Black purchaſers; the laſt of whom carried him down to the ſea-coaſt, and ſold him on board a ſhip.—Was much frightened at the ſight of White men, and thought he was to be eaten.

Eſther relates that ſhe was born in the Ebo country, about one day's journey from the ſea-coaſt, where her grandmother lived, to whom ſhe was ſent on a viſit by her father. While there, the village was attacked by a body of Negroes (ſhe knows not of what country, nor on what account) on whoſe approach ſhe and all the women were ſent into the woods, where a party of the enemy found them, and carried away all ſuch as were able to travel. The old, and thoſe who were averſe to remove, were put to death; her grandmother among the reſt. The third day ſhe was ſold to the White people. She has many marks about the cheſt, which ſhe appeals to as a proof of free birth, and aſſerts that her father had a plantation of corn, yams, and tobacco, and poſſeſſed many ſlaves.

and

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and enlightened people, concerning the injuſtice of a traffick thus ſupported. To attempt its defence in all caſes, were to offer an inſult to the common ſenſe of mankind, and an outrage on the beſt feelings of our nature. Yet a good mind may honeſtly derive ſome degree of conſolation, in conſidering that all ſuch of the wretched victims as were ſlaves in Africa, are, by being ſold to the Whites, removed to a ſituation infinitely more deſirable, even in its worſt ſtate, than that of the beſt and moſt favoured ſlaves in their native country. It is, on all hands, admitted that the condition of thoſe poor people, under their own governments, is the moſt deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be ſubject to. They have no ſecurity for property, nor protection for their perſons; they exiſt at the will and caprice of a maſter, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may ſlaughter them at his pleaſure. He has in truth but very little intereſt in their preſervation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when proviſions are ſcarce, he has even a ſtrong inducement to deſtroy them.

The chief objection to the ſlave trade ariſes from the great encouragement which, I fear, it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppreſſion, and fraud, among the natives towards each other. Without doubt, this is the ſtrong

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part of the petitioners case; and I admit it to be so, with that frankness which I trust no honest West Indian will condemn. At the same time it deserves very serious consideration, whether a direct and immediate discontinuance of the trade by the British nation only (the other nations of Europe continuing to purchase as usual) would afford a remedy to those miseries, the existence of which every enlightened mind cannot but admit, and every good mind must deplore; or rather, whether a partial and sudden abolition (so inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate them in a high degree.

In considering this question, we must have in view not only the circumstances attending the Slave Trade on the Coast, but also the situation of the enslaved Negroes already in the Sugar Colonies. On the first head, it is to be enquired whether, supposing Great Britain should abandon her share in this commerce, a less number of slaves would in consequence thereof be brought down for sale in Africa? Admiral Edwards, who served on the station, and was on shore seven months at a time, is decidedly of opinion that, so long as other nations continue to purchase, the number would not be diminished in the least *(d)*; and a little reflection may perhaps convince us

(d) See his evidence in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council 1789.

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BEHOLD

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Behold then an excefs of 38,000 of thefe miferable people (the prefent annual export in Britifh fhipping) thrown upon the market, and it is furely more than probable that one or the other of thefe confequences will follow: Either the French, the Dutch, and the other maritime nations of Europe, by feizing on what we furrender, will encreafe their trade in proportion to the encreafed fupply *(e)*, or, having the choice and refufal of 38,000 more than they have at prefent, will become more difficult to pleafe; confining their purchafes to fuch only as are called *prime* flaves. Thus the old, and the very young, the fickly and the feeble, will be fcornfully rejected; and perhaps *twenty* poor wretches be confidered as unfaleable then, and facrificed accordingly, to *one* that is fo confidered and facrificed now.

That this latter fuppofition is not a mere fpeculative contingency, is abundantly proved by many refpectable witneffes, whofe examinations were taken by the committee of the privy council:—Being afked concerning the difpofal of fuch flaves as are rejected by the European traders, either becaufe their cargoes are already

(e) Admiral Edwards being afked, Whether, if Great Britain were to relinquifh the trade in flaves, the number fold to Europeans would, in his opinion, be much diminifhed? replied, Moft certainly it would not be diminifhed. The French and Dutch would immediately get poffeffion of this trade.

 afforted,

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aſſorted, or becauſe the miſerable victims are conſidered as too old or too feeble for labour, it was given in evidence, as a fact too notorious to be controverted, that they are very frequently, if not generally, put to death. The ſlave merchant, not having the means of maintaining his captives for any length of time, makes no ſcruple to avow that it is his intention to deſtroy them, provided they are not ſold by a certain day; and the *work of death*, on ſuch occaſions, is ſometimes performed in ſight of our ſhipping. Shocking as this account may ſeem, it is verified by undiſputed teſtimony; and to ſuppoſe that a diſcontinuance of the trade by one nation only, will put an end to this enormity, is to ſuppoſe that the African ſlave-holder will become more merciful, as his ſlaves are rendered of leſs value; a concluſion which I am afraid experience will not warrant *(f)*.

THE

(f) Mr. Newton (an evidence in ſupport of the application to parliament for an abolition of the trade) admits that ſome of the ſlaves, that have been rejected by the Europeans, have been knocked on the head with the paddles of the boat that brought them, and thrown overboard. On the Gold Coaſt, Mr. Miles ſuppoſed they are moſtly reſerved for the purpoſe of being ſacrificed at the burial of great men. One inſtance of this came within his own knowledge.——Mr. Weuves knew an inſtance of a woman being deſtroyed, who was accuſed of witchcraft, and could not be ſold. In order to ſave her life, he offered to give an anker of brandy for her; but her head was cut off before his meſſenger arrived. Other inſtances, ſimilar to this, are related by Mr. Mathews and Mr. Gandy.

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THE effect which a partial abolition would probably have in our sugar islands is now to be considered; and here it must, in the first place, be observed, that it seems not to be known, or is not adverted to, in England, that the sugar estates are not only very much understocked in general, but that there is scarce one of them, for reasons that will presently be seen, that possesses a sufficient number of Negro women, in proportion to the men. Of course there being fewer pairs, there are fewer children born. Thus situated, there must necessarily happen a decrease on the whole number of the slaves, even under the mildest treatment, and enjoying the greatest plenty of wholesome provisions.—Secondly, it must be remembered, that most of the sugar estates, having been settled on credit, are burthened with heavy incumbrances to persons in Great Britain. Many planters are under covenants to

Gandy. Sir George Young saved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone. The child being too young to be an object of trade, would have been thrown into the river by the person that had him to sell, but Sir George, to save his life, offered a quarter cask of Madeira wine for him, which was accepted—he brought him to England, and made a present of him to the Marquis of Lansdown.—Admiral Edwards, Mr. Penny, Mr. Dalzel, Mr. Anderson, and others, concur in the same account of the disposal of such as are rejected by the Europeans.

Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, 1789, Part 1st.

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consign thither annually, certain specifick quantities of sugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and unqualified abolition would be this, that while the few persons who have money at command, would be waiting, and perhaps contriving, opportunities to stock their plantations with the slaves of their distressed and harassed neighbours, the great majority of planters would find themselves in a most cruel and uncomfortable situation; their estates already weak-handed, deprived of the possibility of selling their lands, and no means in their power of augmenting their stock of labourers by purchase; their creditors, at the same time, clamorous and importunate for produce, which can only be obtained by great exertions of labour: in such circumstances what are they to do? I cannot better illustrate this part of my subject, than by the case of the Dutch planters of Essequebo and Demerary: by an impolitick interdiction of foreign slave ships into those provinces, they have, for some time past, felt all the effects of a virtual abolition; and here follows the account which they give of their situation, transcribed from a late memorial to the States General:—"It is impossible (say the petitioners) to inform your High Mightinesses of the real annual diminution of our slaves, but it is generally calculated at five in the hundred, or a twentieth part. This is

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is little felt the firſt year: nineteen remaining Negroes hardly perceive that they do the work which the preceding year employed twenty. But the ſecond year the ſame work falls to the ſhare of eighteen, and, if another year paſſes without an augmentation by purchaſe, ſeventeen muſt do the work firſt allotted to twenty. This muſt give riſe to diſcontent, deſertion, and revolt; or, if the Negroes put up patiently with this ſurcharge of labour, illneſs and an earlier death muſt be the conſequence. Or, laſtly, if the planters ſeek to avoid all theſe inconveniences, they muſt gradually contract the limits of their plantations, and of courſe diminiſh their produce."—Thus immediate intereſt in all caſes, and urgent diſtreſs in many, are oppoſed to the principles of juſtice and the dictates of humanity *(g)*!

What I have thus deliberately written, is not, if I know my own heart, the language of ſelfiſh-

(g) The preſent annual decreaſe of the Negroes in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is eſtimated at two and a half *per cent.* on the whole number; but if the ſame quantity of labour which they now perform, ſhall continue to be exacted from them as their numbers diminiſh, it cannot be doubted that the loſs will be greater every year, and augment with accelerated rapidity. The ſugar eſtates will, undoubtedly, ſuffer moſt, and it is no difficult matter to calculate in what time they will be entirely diſmantled. In Jamaica, the number employed in that line of culture in 1789 was 128,728, all of whom, without freſh ſupplies from Africa, would probably be extinct in leſs than thirty years.

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nefs or party. I confefs that, reflecting on the means by which flaves are very frequently obtained in Africa, and the deftruction that formerly attended the mode of tranfporting them to the Weft Indies, I was at one time of opinion it became this great and renowned nation, inftead of regulating her conduct by that of other ftates, to fet a laudable example to *them*, by an immediate and unqualified fuppreffion of this reprobated commerce; and I fhould ftill maintain and avow the fame fentiments, were I not, on fuller enquiry and better information, led to fufpect *that the means propofed are not adequate to the end*. I fear that a direct and fudden abolition, by one nation alone, will *not* ferve the purpofes of humanity in Africa; and I am fully convinced that fuch a meafure will tend to aggravate, in a very high degree, the miferies of a great majority of the Negroes already in the Weft Indies; whofe decreafing population is at prefent unavoidable; and who, therefore, unlefs recruited by fupplies from Africa, muft find their labours augment, as their numbers diminifh.

A queftion too arifes in this place, the difcuffion of which might probably render all further debate on the fubject of abolition fuperfluous. It extends to nothing lefs than the *practicability* of the meafure. Whether it be poffible for any nation in Europe, fingly confidered, to prevent

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prevent its ſubjects from procuring ſlaves in Africa, ſo long as Africa ſhall continue to ſell, is a point on which I have many doubts; but *none* concerning the poſſibility of conveying the ſlaves ſo purchaſed into every iſland of the Weſt Indies, in ſpite of the maritime force of all Europe. No man who is acquainted with the extent of uninhabited coaſt in the larger of thoſe iſlands;—the facility of landing in every part of them;—the prevailing winds, and the numerous creeks and harbours in all the neighbouring dominions of foreign powers (ſo conveniently ſituated for contraband traffick) can heſitate a moment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduction of ſlaves into our Weſt Indian colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean *(h)*.

(h) It was ſaid (with what truth I know not) that beſides confiſcation of ſhip and cargo, it was meant to conſider the clandeſtine importation of ſlaves into our colonies as a felonious act, and to puniſh it capitally. The Spaniards treat many ſpecies of ſmuggling in this manner, and in no part of the world is the contraband traffick ſo prevalent as in the Spaniſh dominions. It is a curious queſtion, in what manner a cargo of ſlaves, ſeized as contraband, would be diſpoſed of? To declare a ſet of poor helpleſs ſavages *free*, and turn them looſe in a ſtrange country, without food or clothing, would hardly be thought of, and to ſend them back to Africa, beſides the expence and length of the voyage, would be to conſign them over to certain deſtruction. This difficulty ſeems to have been altogether overlooked, during the diſcuſſion of the ſlave buſineſs in parliament.

The

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The next object to which it was propofed to direct our enquiries, is the mode of conveying flaves from Africa to the Weft Indies, and their mortality in the voyage; conftituting the fecond ground on which moft of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have refted their application. But before I proceed to confider this part of my fubject, it may not be improper to offer a few obfervations concerning the great difproportion of fexes in the purchafes that are made on the coaft; it being a well-known fact, that of the vaft numbers of flaves annually exported from Africa, about one-third only are females. This circumftance has been tortured into a charge of criminal neglect and improvident avarice againft the planters of the Weft Indies, who are fuppofed from thence to have no wifh of making their flaves even as happy as their fituation will admit, or of keeping up their numbers by natural encreafe. How far thefe charges are founded, let the following teftimony of a very competent witnefs determine:—" The difproportion in the number of male and female flaves exported from Africa (fays Mr. Barnes (i)) appears to me to be imputable to the three following caufes: Firft, to the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. Secondly, to

(i) Report of the Committee of Council 1789.

fome

ſome of the very cauſes of ſlavery itſelf; men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and in all ſuch caſes, where males and females are involved in the ſame calamity, the firſt cauſe ſtill has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are ſold for ſlaves. Thirdly, to the circumſtance that females become unfit for the ſlave-market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable ſlave at twenty-two, or twenty-three years of age, whereas a healthy well-made man will not be objected to at four or five-and-thirty; conſequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for ſale, a much greater proportion of the females would be rejected on that account only. With regard to the queſtion, Whether the European traders prefer purchaſing males rather than females? I have to obſerve, that though it is impoſſible to conduct the buſineſs, either of a houſe or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet as the nature of the ſlave-ſervice in the Weſt Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires, for the immediate intereſt of the planter, a greater number of males, the European trader would of courſe wiſh to purchaſe his aſſortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the caſe* for the reaſons already

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already mentioned; ſo that in moſt parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many ſaleable females as will form any tolerable aſſortment." The application of theſe remarks will hereafter be ſeen.—I now return to the manner of tranſporting the ſlaves thus purchaſed, from Africa to the Weſt Indies.

It is difficult, I think, to aſſign any probable reaſon or motive why the treatment of theſe poor people at ſea ſhould be otherwiſe than as humane and indulgent as the ſafety of the crew will admit. Many ſhocking inſtances were however adduced, in the evidence delivered to the committee of privy council, of moſt outrageous and wanton barbarity and cruelty exerciſed towards them in different ſhips; but, as the witneſſes that were brought forward to eſtabliſh thoſe charges were not the moſt reſpectable in point of character; and in ſome caſes were proved to have ſuits at law with the captains againſt whom they gave evidence, I ſhall collect my account from leſs diſputable authority.

It is admitted on all hands that the men-ſlaves are ſecured in irons when they firſt come on board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the royal navy, who appears to be well acquainted with the trade in all its branches, is of opinion, that this is not practiſed more than neceſſity requires. The mode is, by faſtening every two men

men together, the right ancle of one being locked, by means of a ſmall iron fetter, to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent diſpoſition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wriſts. On the paſſage, when danger is no longer apprehended, theſe irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning *(k)*. They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being ſeparated from each other by bulk-heads; and freſh air is admitted by means of windſails or ventilators. Covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the conſtant practice of going naked, would be inſupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the mean time, are waſhed, ſcraped, fumigated, and ſprinkled with vinegar. The firſt attention paid to them in the morning is to ſupply them with water to waſh their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal: this, according to the country from whence they come, conſiſts either of Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon they are conſtantly and regularly made to bathe in ſalt-water, and nothing can be more

(k) The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from ſixteen years of age to thirty.—The loweſt ſize four feet.

agreeable

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agreeable and refreſhing. Their dinner is varied, conſiſting ſometimes of food to which they have been accuſtomed in Africa, as yams and Indian corn, &c. and at other times of proviſions brought from Europe, as dried beans and peaſe, wheat, ſhelled barley, and biſcuit; all theſe are boiled ſoft in ſteam, and mixed up with a ſauce made of meat, with fiſh, or palm-oil; this laſt is a conſtant and deſirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewiſe a ſufficiency of freſh water; unleſs when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preſervation of the ſhip compels the captain to put them to a ſhort allowance. Drams alſo are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they deſire them. In the intervals between their meals, they are encouraged to divert themſelves with muſick and dancing; for which purpoſe ſuch rude and uncouth inſtruments as are uſed in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are alſo permitted to amuſe themſelves with games of chance, for which they are likewiſe furniſhed with implements of African invention. In ſickneſs, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hoſpital built near the forecaſtle; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumſtances will admit; and when, fortunately for the Ne-

 groes,

groes, the ſhip touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreſhment that the country affords, as cocoa-nuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all ſorts, are diſtributed among them; and refreſhments of the ſame kind are freely allowed them at the place of their deſtination, between the days of arrival and ſale.

From this account, which is confirmed by the teſtimony of a great number of reſpectable men, many of whom were wholly diſintereſted in the queſtion, and could therefore have no motive to violate or ſuppreſs the truth, it may be ſuppoſed that every ſcheme which can eaſily be deviſed to preſerve the Negroes in health, cleanlineſs, and cheerfulneſs, is adopted in the voyage. So dreadful, notwithſtanding, has been the mortality in ſeveral ſhips, wherein theſe precautions were uſed, as to evince, beyond all contradiction, that there was ſomething in thoſe inſtances intrinſically wrong; and it cannot be doubted that the miſchief has been aſcribed to its proper cauſe, namely, the criminal rapaciouſneſs of many of the ſhip-maſters in purchaſing more Negroes than their accommodations were calculated to convey. It appeared in evidence before the Houſe of Commons, that a ſhip of 240 tons would frequently be crowded with no leſs than 520 ſlaves; which was not allowing

ten

BOOK IV. ten inches of room to each individual. The consequence of this inexcusable avarice, was oftentimes a loss of 15 *per cent.* in the voyage, and 4 ½ *per cent.* more in the harbours of the West Indies, previous to the sale, from diseases contracted at sea; — a destruction of the human species on which it is impossible to reflect without indignation and horror!

To the several arguments, however, which have been raised on the ground of these abuses, in support of the scheme of abolition, a very short answer may be given:—Admit all the miseries and destructive wretchedness which have been placed to this account to have existed in full force, and it will still remain to be enquired whether measures of less powerful operation than a total suppression of the trade, will not obviate in future the evils complained of; because, if regulations alone are sufficient for that purpose, abolition cannot be necessary. Regulations have accordingly been framed and inforced under the authority of the British parliament, of which the certain effect ought surely to be known, before the evils they are meant to redress are pronounced irremediable. By an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty (since renewed and amended) the slave ships are restricted to the conveyance of five slaves to every three tons; and even this proportion is allowed only as far as 201 tons. For every

every additional ton they are limited to one additional ſlave *(l)*. To theſe important precautions for ſecuring to the Negroes a ſufficiency of room, is added the neceſſary proviſion of a regularly-qualified ſurgeon; to whom, as well as to the ſhip-maſter, very liberal encouragement is given, to induce both of them to exert every provident endeavour in preſerving their unfortunate captives in health and ſpirits: the ſum of one hundred pounds being allowed to the maſter, and £. 50 to the ſurgeon, if the loſs on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half thoſe ſums if the loſs ſhall not exceed three in the hundred. CHAP. IV.

Of the full effect which this ſyſtem of reſtriction and encouragement hath hitherto produced in all the Britiſh colonies, I am not informed; but judging by returns which I have obtained from one of the principal marts in the Weſt Indies, it would ſeem to have been found, in a very eminent degree, advantageous and ſalutary. At the port of Montego-Bay, in Jamaica, the Negroes imported between the 18th day of No-

(l) It is alſo provided, that veſſels not exceeding 201 tons ſhall not carry of *male* ſlaves (exceeding four feet four inches in height) more than one for each ton, and veſſels of larger ſize more than three ſuch *males* for every five tons. This regulation ſeems intended as an encouragement to the export of a greater proportion of females.

BOOK IV. vember 1789 and the 15th of July 1791, were 9,993, in 38 ſhips; the mortality at ſea, excluſive of the loſs of 54 negroes in a mutiny on the coaſt, was 746, which is ſomewhat under ſeven *per cent*. on the whole number of ſlaves. This, though much leſs, I believe, than the average loſs which commonly happened before the regulating law took place, is, I admit, ſufficiently great; and, had it prevailed in any degree *equally* on the ſeveral ſhips concerned, might, perhaps, have been conſidered as a fair eſtimate of the general mortality conſequent on the trade, notwithſtanding the precautions and proviſions of the regulating act. But on examining the liſt, I find that eight of the 38 ſhips, were entitled to, and actually received, the full premium; two others received the half premium; and one other (a ſchooner that ſailed from Jamaica to the coaſt before the act took place) returned without the loſs of a ſingle negro. Of the 746 deaths, no leſs than 328 occurred in four ſhips only, all of which, with five other veſſels, comprehending the whole number of ſhips in which three-fifths of the mortality occurred, came from the ſame part of the coaſt, the Bight of Benin; a circumſtance that gives room to conclude (as undoubtedly was the fact) that the negroes from that part of the country brought diſeaſe and conta-

gion with them from the land; an epidemic fever and flux generally prevailing on the low marſhy ſhores of the Bonny rivers, during the autumnal months, which ſometimes proves even more deſtructive on ſhore than at ſea.

PERHAPS the trueſt criterion by which to eſtimate the beneficial effect of the regulating law, is the comparatively trifling loſs that now occurs in the harbours of the Weſt Indies before the Guiney ſhips open their ſales. This mortality, which was formerly eſtimated at 4½ *per cent.* and was manifeſtly the conſequence of ſickneſs or improper treatment in the voyage, is now happily mitigated in ſo great a degree, that out of the whole number of 9,993 ſlaves imported into Montego-Bay as before ſtated, the loſs between the days of arrival and ſale, was no more than 69, or not quite ¾ *per cent.* Enough therefore hath been effected to demonſtrate, that it is by no means impoſſible, nor indeed a very difficult matter, to render the conveyance of Negroes from Africa to the Weſt Indies, as little prejudicial to their healths, as the tranſportation of any other body of people acroſs the ocean in any part of the world. Few voyages were more deſtructive to the ſeamen than that of Lord Anſon, and none leſs ſo than thoſe of Captain Cook; an inconteſtable proof that the mortality, which has commonly occurred at ſea, has at all times ariſen

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from ill-constructed ships, and neglect, or improper management on board *(m.)*

CONCERNING the West India Planters, as they are entirely innocent and ignorant of the manner in which the Slave Trade is conducted (having no other concern therein than becoming purchasers of what British acts of parliament have made objects of sale) so it is equally consonant to their interest and their wishes, that effectual means should be pursued for preserving the health of the negroes, by securing to them proper and reasonable accommodation on the passage. The assembly of Jamaica, instead of remonstrating against that augmentation in the price of slaves, which they must have foreseen that the act of the British parliament would necessarily create, with the liberality of dignified minds applauded the principle of the measure, declaring it to be founded in necessity, justice, and humanity, and expressed their opinion that the wisdom and authority of Parliament might be beneficially exerted in further regulations of the African commerce, particularly in preventing the deten-

(m) Perhaps no plan is so likely to save the lives and preserve the healths of the Negroes at sea, as that of limiting the slave-ships to 200 tons burthen, and allowing them to receive on board only 2 or 2 ½ to a ton. Small vessels are soon loaded; and from a multitude of examples that I have seen, it appears to me that the greatest mortality happens in the larger ships.

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tion of ſhips on the coaſt; in prohibiting the purchaſe of ſlaves who ſhould appear to have been kidnapped; in compelling the ſlave-ſhips to tranſport an equal number of both ſexes, and to provide ventilators and a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, eſpecially water: ſuch a recommendation it might be ſuppoſed would engage immediate attention, not only as coming from men who are certainly the beſt judges of its propriety and neceſſity, but alſo becauſe the means of enforcing moſt of the regulations which they recommend are practicable and apparent.

Having thus, I preſume, ſufficiently treated of the means by which ſlaves are procured for ſale in Africa, and the regulations that have been eſtabliſhed by the Britiſh parliament for their better conveyance to the Sugar Iſlands, I ſhall proceed, in the next chapter, to a detail of their general treatment and ſituation there, immediately on and after their arrival, and diſtribution among the planters.

CHAP. V.

Arrival and ſale in the Weſt Indies.—Negroes newly purchaſed, how diſpoſed of and employed.—Detail of the management of Negroes on a ſugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houſes, clothing, and medical care.—Abuſes.—Late regulations for their protection and ſecurity.—Cauſes of their annual decreaſe.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildeſt form unfriendly to population.—General obſervations.—Propoſals for the further meliorating the condition of the Slaves, with which the ſubject concludes.

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THE arrival of a Guiney ſhip in the Weſt Indies is announced by publick advertiſement, ſpecifying rhe number of Negroes imported, the country from whence, and day of ſale. It was the practice until of late, to open the ſale on ſhipboard, the males being arranged in one part of the ſhip, and the females in another: but, as viſitors of all deſcriptions were admitted without heſitation or enquiry, it frequently happened, when ſlave-ſhips were ſcarce, that ſuch crowds of people went on board, and began ſo diſgraceful a ſcramble, as to terrify the poor ignorant Africans with the notion that they were ſeized on by a herd

of

of cannibals, and ſpeedily to be devoured. The wiſdom of the legiſlature of Jamaica has corrected this enormity in that iſland, by enacting that the ſales ſhall be conducted on ſhore, and that care ſhall be taken not to ſeparate different branches of the ſame family. I am afraid it hath been found difficult, in all caſes, to enforce this latter regulation; but it is uſual with moſt planters, I believe, to enquire of the Negroes themſelves, by means of an interpreter, whether they have relations on board, and to purchaſe families together; or, by exchanging with other buyers, to prevent, if poſſible, that cruel ſeparation between parents and children, and brothers and ſiſters, which muſt ſometimes, I doubt, unavoidably take place. I never knew an inſtance where ſuch purchaſe or accommodation was knowingly declined or refuſed *(a)*.

Although there is ſomething extremely ſhocking to a humane and cultivated mind, in the idea of beholding a numerous body of our unfortunate fellow-creatures, in captivity and exile, expoſed naked to publick view, and ſold like a herd of cattle, yet I could never perceive (except in the caſes that have been mentioned of

(a) Soon after this was written, the author of this work had the honour of propoſing to the aſſembly of Jamaica, of which he was a member, an act which was unanimouſly adopted, and is now an exiſting law, by which the Guiney factors are compelled, under the ſolemnity of an oath, to do their utmoſt to enforce the regulation alluded to.

 a ſcramble

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a ſcramble on ſhipboard) that the Negroes themſelves were oppreſſed with many of thoſe painful ſenſations which a perſon unaccuſtomed to the ſcene would naturally attribute to ſuch apparent wretchedneſs. The circumſtance of being expoſed naked, is perhaps of little account to thoſe who were never ſenſible of the neceſſity or propriety of being clothed. The climate requires not the aid of dreſs, nor are the Negroes, though naked, deſtitute of decorations, on which, at their firſt arrival, they ſeem to ſet a much higher eſtimation than on raiment; moſt of the nations of Africa having their ſkin, particularly on the forehead, the breaſt, and round the waiſt, punctured or impreſſed with figures and repreſentations of different kinds (ſquares, circles, triangles, and creſcents) ſimilar to the practice which prevails in *Otaheite*, and the other iſlands of the South Sea, called *tatowing*, as deſcribed in the voyages of Captain Cook. Like thoſe iſlanders too, ſome of the newly-imported Negroes diſplay theſe marks with a mixture of oſtentation and pleaſure, either conſidering them as highly ornamental, or appealing to them as teſtimonies of diſtinction in Africa; where, in ſome caſes, they are ſaid to indicate free birth and honourable parentage *(b)*. The Negroes are appriſed alſo, before

(b) Some of the Negroes of the Gold Coaſt, or the adjacent countries (the *Chamba* Negroes for inſtance) appear to me

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before their arrival, that they are to be employed in tillage; and, knowing that they were bought with money, expect to be sold in the same manner. They display therefore, on being brought to market, very few signs of lamentation for their past, or of apprehension for their future condition; but, wearied out with confinement at sea, commonly express great eagerness to be sold; presenting themselves, when the buyers are few, with chearfulness and alacrity for selection, and appearing mortified and disappointed when refused. If it happens, as it frequently does, when the purchasers have leisure and opportunity to inspect them individually, that some bodily defect or blemish is discovered in any of them, the majority seem highly diverted at the circumstance; manifesting, by loud and repeated bursts of

me to use the same, or nearly the same, marks as the savages of New Zealand; *viz.* deep incisions on each cheek drawn circularly from the ear to the mouth. (*Vide Hawkesworth's Voyages*, vol. iii. c. 9.) It is ridiculous enough, that some of the writers against the slave-trade should ascribe these marks of superstition or false taste to the cruelty of the planters, and gravely assert that they are the scars of horrible gashes inflicted by the bloody hand of tyranny in the wantonness of punishment. The Reverend Mr. Clarkson catches very eagerly at this idea, and asserts with great solemnity, that "it is "a matter of constant lamentation with disinterested people, "who, out of curiosity attend the Negro markets in Jamaica, "that they are not able to turn their eyes on any group of "Negroes without beholding these inhuman marks of passion, despotism, and caprice!"

laughter,

laughter, that reflection conftitutes no very predominant part of their character *(c)*.

The buyer having completed his affortment, and clothed his newly-acquired fubjects with a coarfe German linen, called oznaburghs, and provided them alfo with hats, handkerchiefs, and knives, fends them to the place of their intended refidence *(d)* : and now a practice prevails in Jamaica, which I myfelf, unacquainted as I then was with the actual management in detail of a fugar plantation, and refiding in a diftant country, ufed to reprobate and exclaim againft; but to which I now fubmit, from a full conviction, founded on experience, of its ufefulnefs and neceffity. The practice is that of diftributing the newly-imported Africans among the old Negroes, as penfioners (with fome little affiftance occafionally given) on their little *peculium*, and provifion-

(c) The prices of new Negroes in the Weft Indies, at this time (1791) are nearly as follows:—An able man in his prime, £. 50 fterling; an able woman, £. 49 fterling; a youth approaching to manhood, £. 47 fterling; a young girl, £. 46 fterling; boys and girls from £. 40 to £. 45 fterling, exclufive of the Colonial tax or duty on importation, about twenty fhillings more.

(d) It is the cuftom among fome of the planters in Jamaica, to mark the initials of their name on the fhoulder or breaft of each newly-purchafed Negro, by means of a fmall filver brand heated in the flame of fpirits, as defcribed in a former chapter; but it is growing into difufe, and I believe in the Windward Iflands thought altogether unneceffary.

grounds.

grounds. This I ufed to confider as an infupportable hardfhip on the poor people already fettled and domefticated, and I pofitively and exprefsly forbad a continuance of the cuftom in plantations over which I had authority.

On my return to the Weft Indies, I was furprifed to find the old-eftablifhed Negroes, when young people newly arrived from Africa, were fent among them, requeft, as a particular inftance of favour and indulgence to themfelves, the revival and continuance of the ancient fyftem; affuring me they had the means of fupporting the ftrangers without difficulty. Many who thus applied, propofed each of them to adopt one of their young country-folks in the room of children they had loft by death, or had been deprived of in Africa; others, becaufe they wifhed, like the patriarchs of old, to fee their fons take to themfelves wives from their own nation and kindred; and all of them, I prefume, becaufe, among other confiderations, they expected to revive and retrace in the converfation of their new vifitors, the remembrance and ideas of paft pleafures and fcenes of their youth. The ftrangers too were beft pleafed with this arrangement, and ever afterwards confidered themfelves as the adopted children of thofe by whom they were thus protected, calling them parents, and venerating them as fuch; and I never knew an inftance of the violation of a truft thus folicited

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ſolicited and beſtowed. In the courſe of eight or ten months, provided they are mildly uſed and kept free of diſeaſe, new people, under theſe circumſtances, become reconciled to the country; begin to get well eſtabliſhed in their families, their houſes and proviſion-grounds; and prove in all reſpects as valuable as the native or creole negroes *(e)*.

WHAT has hitherto been obſerved concerning the diſpoſal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to Weſt Indian eſtates of all deſcriptions; but, as my own perſonal attention has been chiefly directed to ſugar plantations, I would be underſtood to ſpeak of thoſe more particularly; and ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the methodical arrangement and diſtribution of the labour with which they are conducted, as it is unqueſtionably more ſevere and conſtant than that on any other ſpecies of landed property in the Weſt Indies.

THE Negroes are divided into three ſets or claſſes, uſually called *gangs*; the firſt conſiſting of the moſt healthy and robuſt of the men and women, whoſe chief buſineſs it is, out of crop-

(e) Generally ſpeaking, a Creole Negro is conſidered as worth more than one imported; but in a valuation, by indifferent perſons, of two able well-diſpoſed Negroes, nearly of the ſame age, the one an African, the other a native, no great difference (if any) would be made. A child juſt born is valued at £. 5.

time,

time, to clear, hole and plant the ground; and, in croptime, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the ſugar. It is computed that, in the whole body of the negroes on a well-conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one-third of this deſcription, excluſive of domeſticks and negro tradeſmen, viz. carpenters, coopers and maſons, with which each well-regulated plantation is provided *(f)*. The ſecond gang is compoſed of young boys and girls, women far gone with child, and convaleſcents, who are chiefly employed in weeding the canes, CHAP. V.

(f) The annual profit ariſing to the owner, from the labour of each able field Negro employed in the cultivation of ſugar, may be reckoned at twenty-five pounds ſterling money. I reckon thus:—A ſugar plantation, well conducted, and in a favourable ſoil, ought to yield as many hogſheads of ſugar, of 16 cwt. annually, as there are Negroes belonging to it, the average value of which, for ten years paſt, may be ſtated at £. 15 ſterling the hogſhead; but as every plantation is not thus productive, and the rum, which is generally appropriated to the payment of contingent charges, not being always ſufficient for that purpoſe, I will allow £. 10 ſterling only, as the clear profit *per* hogſhead of the ſugar, which therefore is the average value of the labour of each Negro, old and young; and one-third only of the Negroes being able people, their labour may be put at £. 30 a head; out of which however muſt be deducted, the intereſt on their firſt coſt, and an allowance for the riſque of loſing them by death or deſertion (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expences of the eſtate) for both which I allow fifteen *per cent.* This leaves about £. 25 ſterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each ſlave.

and

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and other light work adapted to their ſtrength and condition; and the third ſet conſiſts of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green-meat for the pigs and ſheep; or in weeding the garden, or ſome ſuch gentle exerciſe, merely to preſerve them from habits of idleneſs.

THE firſt gang is ſummoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of a conch-ſhell, juſt before ſun-riſe. They bring with them, beſides their hoes or bills, proviſions for breakfaſt; and are attended by a White perſon, and a Black ſuperintendant called a driver. —The liſt being called over, and the names of all the abſentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they ſit down in the ſhade to breakfaſt, which is prepared in the mean time by a certain number of women, whoſe ſole employment it is to act as cooks for the reſt. This meal commonly conſiſts of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue and plantains, or as many of thoſe vegetables as they can procure; ſeaſoned with ſalt, and cayenne pepper; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholeſome meſs. By this time moſt of the abſentees make their appearance, and are ſometimes puniſhed for their ſluggiſhneſs by a few ſtripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to ſay that of late years a very ſlight excuſe is generally admitted. The

fact

fact is, that when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the ſenſations of the Negro are diſtreſsful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions. Inſtead of deriving firmneſs and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, ſluggiſh and languid; and neither labour nor puniſhment will animate him to great exertion, until he is revivified by the genial warmth of the ſun. At breakfaſt they are ſeldom indulged with more than half or three quarters of an hour; and, having reſumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of reſt and refreſhment; one of which is commonly ſpent in ſleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of ſalted or pickled fiſh, of which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful ſupper to a meal at noon, paſs the hours of receſs, either in ſleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they pleaſe; or perhaps a few of the more induſtrious, will employ an hour in their proviſion-grounds. At two o'clock they are again ſummoned to the field, where, having been refreſhed both by reſt and food, they now manifeſt ſome ſigns of vigorous and animated application; although I can with great truth aſſert, that

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that one Engliſh labourer in his own climate would perform at leaſt three times the work of any one Negro in the ſame period. At ſun-ſet, or very ſoon after, they are releaſed for the night, (the drudgery, ſo much complained of in ſome of the iſlands to windward, of picking graſs, being happily unknown in Jamaica) and if the day has been wet, or their labour harder than uſual, they are ſometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the days in the latitude of the Weſt Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours, in the ſervice of their maſter, Sundays and holydays excepted. In the crop ſeaſon, however, the ſyſtem is different; for at that time, ſuch of the Negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling-houſes, often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among ſeamen; and it is remarkable, that at this ſeaſon the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other period of the year; a circumſtance undoubtedly owing to the free and unreſtrained uſe which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor and ſyrup.

The practice which prevails in Jamaica of giving the Negroes lands to cultivate, from the produce of which they are expected to maintain

2 themſelves

themſelves (except in times of ſcarcity, ariſing from hurricanes and droughts, when aſſiſtance is never denied them) is univerſally allowed to be judicious and beneficial; producing a happy coalition of intereſts between the maſter and the ſlave. The Negro who has acquired by his own labour a property in his maſter's land, has much to loſe, and is therefore leſs inclined to deſert his work. He earns a little money, by which he is enabled to indulge himſelf in fine clothes on holydays, and gratify his palate with ſalted meats and other proviſions that otherwiſe he could not obtain; and the proprietor is eaſed, in a great meaſure, of the expence of feeding him. In ſome of the Windward Iſlands they have not land enough for the purpoſe; nor in any one of them, are the Negroes ſo happily accommodated, in this reſpect, as in the large iſland of Jamaica; where they are ſeldom either ſtinted in quantity of land, or confined as to ſituation. In fact, if the owner's territory is ſufficiently extenſive, the Negroes make it a practice to enlarge their own grounds, or exchange them for freſh land, every year. By theſe means, having quicker and better returns, they raiſe proviſions in abundance, not only for their own uſe, but alſo a great ſurplus to ſell. The misfortune is, they truſt more to plantain-groves, corn and other vegetables, that are liable to be deſtroyed by ſtorms, than to what are called

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called *ground-provisions*; such as yams, eddoes, potatoes, cassada, and other esculent roots; all which are out of the reach of hurricanes; but prudence is a term that has no place in the Negro-vocabulary. To obviate the mischiefs which fatal experience has proved to flow from this gross inattention, the *Slave Act* of Jamaica obliges, under a penalty, every proprietor of lands to keep, properly cultivated in ground-provisions, one acre for every ten Negroes, exclusive of the Negro grounds *(g)*.

THE

(g) In Jamaica the Negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, besides Sundays and holydays, for cultivating their grounds and carrying their provisions to market. Some of them find time on these days, besides raising provisions, to make a few coarse manufactures, such as mats for beds, bark ropes of a strong and durable texture, wicker chairs and baskets, earthen jars, pans, &c. for all which they find a ready sale; but I cannot say much for the skill and elegance of their workmanship. The most industrious of the Negroes do not, I believe, employ more than sixteen hours in a month in the cultivation of their own provision-gardens (leaving all further care of them to the beneficence of nature) and in favourable seasons this is sufficient. Sunday is their day of market, and it is wonderful what numbers are then seen, hastening from all parts of the country, towards the towns and shipping places, laden with fruits and vegetables, pigs, goats and poultry, their own property. In Jamaica it is supposed that upwards of 10,000 assemble every Sunday morning in the market of Kingston, where they barter their provisions, &c. for salted beef and pork, or fine linen and ornaments for their wives and children. I do not believe that an instance can be produced of a master's interfering

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THE cottages of the Negroes uſually compoſe a ſmall village, the ſituation of which, for the ſake of convenience and water, is commonly near the buildings in which the manufacture of ſugar is conducted. They are ſeldom placed with much regard to order, but, being always intermingled with fruit-trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange (the Negroes' own planting and property) they ſometimes exhibit a pleaſing and pictureſque appearance. To affirm that they are very tolerable habitations, according to the idea which an untravelled Engliſhman would probably form of the word, were an inſult to the reader; but it may honeſtly be ſaid, that, allowing for the difference of climate, they far excel the cabins of the Scotch and Iriſh peaſants, as deſcribed by Mr. Young, and other travellers. They are ſuch, at leaſt, as are commenſurate to the deſires and neceſſities of their inhabitants, who build them according to their own fancy both in ſize and ſhape, the

fering with his Negroes in their *peculium* thus acquired. They are permitted alſo to diſpoſe at their deaths of what little property they poſſeſs; and even to bequeath their grounds or gardens to ſuch of their fellow-ſlaves as they think proper. Theſe principles are ſo well eſtabliſhed, that whenever it is found convenient for the owner to exchange the negro-grounds for other lands, the Negroes muſt be ſatisfied, in money or otherwiſe, before the exchange takes place. It is univerſally the practice.

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maſter allowing the timber, and frequently permitting the eſtate's carpenters to aſſiſt in the building. In general, a cottage for one Negro and his wife, is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and divided into two apartments. It is compoſed of hard poſts driven into the ground, and interlaced with wattles and plaiſter. The height from the ground to the plate being barely ſufficient to admit the owner to walk in upright. The floor is of natural earth, which is commonly dry enough, and the roof thatched with palm-thatch, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut-tree; an admirable covering, forming a laſting and impenetrable ſhelter both againſt the ſun and the rain. Of furniture they have no great matters to boaſt, nor, conſidering their habits of life, is much required. The bedſtead is a platform of boards, and the bed a mat, covered with a blanket; a ſmall table; two or three low ſtools; an earthen jar for holding water; a few ſmaller ones; a pail; an iron pot; *calabaſhes (h)* of different ſizes (ſerving very tolerably for plates, diſhes, and bowls) make up the reſt. Their cookery is conducted in the open air, and fire-wood being always at hand, they have not only a ſufficiency for that purpoſe, but alſo for a fire within doors during the night, without which a

(h) A ſpecies of gourd.

Negro cannot ſleep with comfort. It is made in the middle of one of the two rooms, and the ſmoke makes its way through the door or the thatch. This account of their accommodation, however, is confined to the loweſt among the field-negroes: tradeſmen and domeſticks are in general vaſtly better lodged and provided. Many of theſe have larger houſes with boarded floors, and are accommodated (at their own expence it is true) with very decent furniture:—a few have even good beds, linen ſheets, and muſquito nets, and diſplay a ſhelf or two of plates and diſhes of queen's or Staffordſhire ware.

Of clothing, the allowance of the maſter is not always ſo liberal as might be wiſhed, but much more ſo of late years than formerly *(i)*. Few of the Negroes, however, on Sundays and holydays, appear deficient in this point, or ſhew any want of raiment, not only decent but gaudy.

The circumſtances wherein the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies ſeem moſtly indebted to their owners' liberality, are, I think, thoſe of medical attendance and accommodation when ſick. Every plantation, that I am acquainted with, is under the daily or weekly inſpection of a practitioner in

(i) I believe the Negroes on every plantation in Jamaica, without exception, receive a yearly allowance of oznaburg-linen, woollen, baize, checks, &c. and but very few planters deny them hats, handkerchiefs, and other little articles, as knives, needles and thread, &c. &c.

 phyſick

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phyfick and furgery, who very frequently refides on the fpot; and the planters, being in general men of education themfelves, are not eafily reconciled, in fo important a matter, with fuch illiterate pretenders in medicine as are very often found in the country parts of England, to the difgrace of the profeffion. Young men of fkill and fcience are therefore fought for and encouraged; and as but few fingle plantations can afford a very liberal allowance, they are permitted to extend their practice in the neighbourhood *(k)*.

FOR

(k) The ufual recompence to the furgeon for attendance and medicines, is fix fhillings a head *per annum* for all the Negroes on the eftate, whether fick or well. Amputations, difficult cafes in midwifery, inoculation, &c. are paid for exclufively, and on a liberal fcale. A property having 500 Negroes contributes about £. 150 fterling *per annum*; and the furgeon, if he chufes, is entitled to board, wafhing, and lodging; and this is altogether independent of the profits of his practice with the Whites. I fuppofe there are few plantation doctors in Jamaica, that have lefs than 500 Negroes under their care; feveral (with their affiftants) have upwards of 5,000.

Among the difeafes which Negroes bring with them from Africa, the moft loathfome are the *cacabay* and the *yaws*; and it is difficult to fay which is the worft. The former is the leprofy of the Arabians, and the latter (much the moft common) is fuppofed, by fome writers, to be the leprofy mentioned in Leviticus, c. xiii. Both are very accurately decribed by Doctor Hillary, in his Obfervations on the Difeafes of Barbadoes. Young Negro children often catch the yaws, and get through it without medicine or much inconveniency. At a later period it is feldom or never thoroughly eradicated;

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For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided with a ſick-houſe or hoſpital, divided into different apartments; and over which one or more aged women preſide as nurſes. The proprietor commonly ſupplies blankets, flour, rice, ſugar, and oatmeal: theſe things I have ſeldom known to be denied, and ſome gentlemen afford, beſides freſh beef and mutton, more coſtly articles; ſuch as ſpices, ſago, and wine.

eradicated; and as, like the ſmall-pox, it is never had but *once*, the Gold Coaſt Negroes are ſaid to communicate the infection to their infants by inoculation. I very much doubt if medicine of any kind is of uſe in this diſeaſe.—But the greateſt mortality among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies ariſes from two other complaints; the one affecting infants between the fifth and fourteenth days after their birth, and of which it is ſuppoſed that one-fourth of all the Negro children periſh. It is a ſpecies of *tetanus*, or locked jaw; but both the cauſe of it in theſe poor children, and the remedy, remain yet to be diſcovered. The other complaint affects adults, or rather Negroes who are paſt their prime. They become dropſical, and complain of a conſtant uneaſineſs in the ſtomach; for which they find a temporary relief in eating ſome kind of earth. The French planters call this diſeaſe *mal-d'eſtomac*, or the ſtomach-evil. I have formerly heard of owners and managers who were ſo ignorant and ſavage as to attempt the cure by ſevere puniſhment; conſidering *dirt-eating*, not as a diſeaſe, but a crime. I hope the race is extinct. The beſt and only remedy is kind uſage and wholeſome animal food; and perhaps a ſteel drink may be of ſome ſervice. Of one poor fellow in this complaint, I myſelf made a perfect cure by perſiſting ſome time in this method.

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On the whole, notwithſtanding ſome defects, let allowance be made for the climate and ſoil, and it may be aſſerted with truth and modeſty, that, if the ſituation of the ſlaves in the Britiſh Weſt Indies were, in all caſes, on a level with their circumſtances in regard to food, lodging, and medical aſſiſtance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peaſantry of Europe.

At the ſame time let it not be forgotten, that the legiſlative authority in many of the ſugar iſlands, has been, and ſtill is, moſt humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the ſlave in all reſpects, and circumſcribing the power of the maſter.—" Protection of their ſlaves (ſays " the Report of the Privy Council) made but a " very ſmall portion of their earlier policy. This " branch has of late been taken up, and expreſs " directions have been given to enſure to the " Negroes, the enjoyment of many advantages " tending to alleviate their condition. In three " iſlands particularly (Jamaica, Grenada, and Do- " minica) the wiſh to ſoften the rigours of their " ſituation has manifeſted itſelf more decidedly. " Meaſures have been deviſed by the legiſlatures " of thoſe iſlands for placing them in a ſtate of " ſociety, where they will be entitled to a pro- " tection that in former times would have been " thought incompatible with the dependance " and ſubordination of ſlavery."

To

To this diſtinguiſhed and honourable teſtimony it may be added, as a circumſtance of ſtill greater importance, that the age itſelf is hourly improving in humanity: and that this improvement viſibly extends beyond the Atlantick. Its influence is felt where the law is a dead letter. This, however, is to be underſtood with conſiderable allowance; for it is a melancholy truth, that authority over theſe poor people muſt, on ſeveral occaſions, unavoidably devolve into hands that will employ it only in its abuſe; and in caſes too, in which, if redreſs be ſought, the teſtimony of the injured party is inadmiſſible in a court of juſtice. Under thoſe circumſtances, while the law loſes its authority, I am afraid that the ſenſe of decorum alone affords but a feeble reſtraint againſt the corrupt paſſions and infirmities of our nature, the hardneſs of avarice, the pride of power, the ſallies of anger, and the thirſt of revenge. CHAP. V.

THAT the narratives therefore of exceſſive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the ſympathy of the publick, are *all* of them "abſolutely falſe;"—though it has been aſſerted by others, ſhall not be aſſerted by me. If they have happened but *ſeldom*, they have happened too often. The difference between me, and thoſe who, on this ground, continue to urge the neceſſity of an immediate and

total

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total ſuppreſſion of the ſlave-trade, is this: they aſſert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour, to behold the miſerable Negroes fall victims to a ſeries of cruelties of which no other age or country affords an example; and they maintain that the planters, *in general*, are guilty of theſe cruelties, without commiſeration or remorſe. I, on the other hand, aver that, although ſuch enormities have certainly *ſometimes* happened, and may happen again, yet that the *general* treatment of the Negroes in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; that inſtances of cruelty are not only rare, but always univerſally reprobated when diſcovered; and, when ſuſceptible of legal proof, ſeverely puniſhed *(l)*.

The

(l) As the latter part of this aſſertion has been very confidently denied by ſome of the witneſſes that have appeared before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, I beg leave to trouble the reader with the following caſes in point:

"Spaniſh Town, Jamaica, Feb. 1777. Thomas Fell was indicted for aſſaulting a Negro man ſlave, the property of Richard Welch, Eſquire, and found guilty. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of twenty pounds, and to be impriſoned in the common gaol one week, and until payment of the fine."

"Kingſton, Jamaica. At the Surry aſſize, 1786; George Geddes was tried, and found guilty on two indictments, for cruelly beating and maiming two of his own ſlaves. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of £.100, on each indictment, and to be impriſoned ſix months in the jail of Kingſton, and until payment of the fine, and afterwards to find ſecurity for his good behaviour, &c."

"Surry

THE great, and I fear incurable, defect in the ſyſtem of ſlavery, is the circumſtance already mentioned, that the evidence of the ſlave cannot

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"Surry Aſſize, 1778. John Durant, a free man of Colour, was indicted and found guilty of aſſaulting a Negro man ſlave, named Sacco, the property of Eliza Wheeler, a free Negroe woman. Sentenced to be publickly flogged at the Beef market."

"Quarter Seſſion, Kingſton, Auguſt, 1791. The *King verſus Thomſon*, for aſſaulting and falſely impriſoning a Negro boy, the property of Francis Robertſon. Found guilty and fined £. 10.—*King verſus Bender*, for wantonly and immoderately puniſhing a Negro man, his own property, named Fortune. Found guilty and fined £. 20."

The above are extracts fairly abridged from the records in the proper office in Jamaica. Teſtimonies of the ſame kind, more fully ſtated, from the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, appear in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council; to whom evidence was likewiſe given, that a White man, in the Iſland of Grenada, was, in the year 1776, convicted of the murder of his own ſlave, and executed. If many other caſes cannot be cited, it may fairly be ſuppoſed, from thoſe which have been adduced, that freſh occaſion has not often been given. The following ſhocking inſtance, however, happened in the Iſland of Jamaica, in the ſummer of 1791:—William Rattray, a carpenter at the port of Rio Bueno, in a fit of drunkenneſs, threw an axe at a Negro boy, his own ſlave, which unfortunately killed him on the ſpot. The coroner's inqueſt finding it wilful murder, the man was apprehended, and ſent to gaol in irons. He was not, it is true, publickly tried and hanged for the crime; for, being well aſſured that ſuch would be his fate, he thought it beſt to execute juſtice on himſelf, and found in ſuicide an eſcape from the gallows. This fact, which is within my own knowledge, is certainly no proof that the murderers of their own ſlaves eſcape with impunity.

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be admitted againſt a White perſon, even in caſes of the moſt atrocious injury. This is an evil to which, on ſeveral accounts, I fear no direct and efficacious remedy can be applied. In ſome of the iſlands, however, attempts have been made, with an earneſtneſs ſuited to the importance of the ſubject, to ſupply the defect; and expedients have been adopted for that purpoſe, which, in moſt caſes, it may be hoped, will have the good conſequence of a ſolid protection. By the new ſlave act of Grenada, the juſtices are required annually to nominate three freeholders to be *guardians of the ſlaves*; who are to take an oath to ſee the law duly executed. They are not only to inſpect the proviſion-grounds, the clothing, and maintenance, and to enquire into the general treatment of the ſlaves, but alſo to interrogate on oath the managers and overſeers, concerning the due obſervance of the law; and in caſe of breaches thereof, to proſecute the offenders. Of this meaſure the Report of the Privy Council expreſſes the higheſt approbation:—"The obliging managers and overſeers (it obſerves) *to anſwer upon oath*, gives peculiar efficacy to a regulation intended for the benefit of perſons whoſe teſtimony, by the law of the country, could not be heard in a proſecution againſt a White perſon."

In the ſame liberal ſpirit, and co-operating to the

the ſame generous end, the legiſlature of Jamaica have conſtituted the juſtices and veſtry of each pariſh in that iſland, a *council of protection*, expreſsly for the purpoſe of making full enquiry into the barbarities exerciſed on ſlaves, and bringing the authors to puniſhment at the publick expence. With this view, it is enacted, that when any complaint, *or probable intelligence from any ſlave*, or otherwiſe, is made before a juſtice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a ſlave, the juſtice is impowered and required to iſſue his warrant to bring the ſlave before him for inſpection. "By this regulation (ſay the aſſembly) it is intended, as far as poſſible, to take from the owner the power of concealment; for the magiſtrate is enabled to obtain a view of the fact, on evidence, which, in other caſes, is, and ought to be, inadmiſſible." By another clauſe in the ſame act, in order more effectually to prevent the deſtruction of Negroes by exceſſive labour and unreaſonable puniſhments, the ſurgeon of every plantation is required to produce and deliver in upon oath, to the juſtices and veſtry, an annual account of the decreaſe and encreaſe of the ſlaves of ſuch plantation, aſſigning alſo the cauſes of ſuch decreaſe, to the beſt of his judgment and belief. On this head the aſſembly remark "how tender and cautious every rational manager muſt neceſſarily be in the puniſhments

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nifhments which he adminifters, who confiders, that he has a refident infpector into his conduct, and that the punifhment of death may follow an abufe of his authority."

Such are a few of the many forcible and decifive teftimonies which the refident planters in the Weft Indies have given to the world of their juft abhorrence of all acts of cruelty and oppreffion towards the poor people over whom the accident of birth or fortune have invefted them with power.—They have demonftrated that their inclination concurs with their intereft effectually to perform whatever humanity and the fenfe of reciprocal obligation require towards their African labourers; and they have armed the law with additional energy, in the hope of curbing thofe paffions, fuppreffing thofe frailties, and preventing thofe exceffes, which the plenitude of power is too apt to encourage. If this effect cannot, in all cafes and contingencies, be produced, the failure muft be comprized among the many other infurmountable difficulties and irrefiftible evils of life, for which human wifdom has hitherto in vain fought a remedy.

The grand (and I admit the moft plaufible) accufation againft the general conduct of the planters, arifes from the neceffity they find themfelves under of having an annual recruit of flaves from Africa, to fill up the numbers that perifh in

in the Weſt Indies. So long as it ſhall appear that the natural encreaſe of the Negroes already in the ſugar iſlands, is inſufficient for this purpoſe, it will be contended that this circumſtance, of itſelf, affords an obvious and undeniable proof that it is *not* to individuals alone, the blame of improper treatment ought to be attributed. *That* power, it is urged, muſt in almoſt all caſes be abuſed, and *that* ſlavery muſt be univerſally exceſſive, which give occaſion to ſo dreadful a waſte of life. The objection has been anticipated, and in part anſwered, in the preceding pages, by the proof that has been given of the great diſproportion of the ſexes in the yearly importations from Africa. It has been ſhewn from unqueſtionable authority, that one third only are females. Thus, notwithſtanding every allowance for the Creoles or natives, who may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have encreaſed according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an exceſs in its Negro population of 30,000 males. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. It is a truth well known, that the practice of polygamy, which univerſally prevails in Africa, is alſo very generally adopted among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies; and he who conceives that a remedy may be found for this, by introducing among them the laws of marriage as eſtabliſhed in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their

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their manners, propenſities, and ſuperſtitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not leſs than ten thouſand of ſuch as are called Head Negroes (artificers and others) poſſeſs from two to four wives. This partial appropriation of the women creates a ſtill greater proportion of ſingle men, and produces all the miſchiefs which are neceſſarily attached to the ſyſtem of polygamy. In Africa, the redundancy of males, occaſioned by an unequal diſtribution of the females, is undoubtedly one of the ſources which ſupplies the European trader with ſlaves; and the conſequences attending it among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, are a ſhocking licentiouſneſs and profligacy of manners in moſt of their women; who are expoſed to temptations which they cannot reſiſt. They hold chaſtity in ſo little eſtimation, that barrenneſs and frequent abortions, the uſual effects of a promiſcuous intercourſe, are very generally prevalent among them. To the ſame origin may be aſcribed that neglect, and want of maternal affection towards the children produced by former connections, obſervable in many of the Black females.

The circumſtances thus enumerated, operating with combined energy, are abundantly ſufficient to account for the annual diminution in the number of the ſlaves; and I ſee no good reaſon why it ſhould not be frankly admitted,

that ſlavery itſelf, in its mildeſt form, is unfriendly to population. The human race, to encreaſe in numbers, muſt be placed in favourable circumſtances; and, unleſs reaſon and ſentiment in ſome degree co-operate with corporeal inſtinct, its offspring is born but to periſh. Among men who are deprived of free agency, or by whom it is but imperfectly enjoyed, neither reaſon nor ſentiment can be the ruling principle. It is needleſs to purſue this argument any farther. Men of reflection, apprized of the fact that ſuch diſproportion between the ſexes exiſts among the Negroes, will draw the proper concluſions from it, and agree that an abolition of the ſlave trade will not afford a remedy.

Thus have I delivered, in a detail which the reader will probably find too diffuſe and minute, ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me on the ſeveral matters, of which I propoſed to treat. I have declined to enlarge on the various calumnies, and groſs miſrepreſentations, which have been ſpread and encouraged againſt the planters, becauſe it is their misfortune that, on this queſtion, many virtuous, humane and pious men, miſled by popular prejudice, openly concur in, and give their ſanction to, the malignant efforts, and uncharitable miſconſtructions of the envious and illiberal. Such proceedings, however, are as impolitick as they are unjuſt. They are equally in-

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jurious to the maſter and the ſlave. By exciting among the Negroes a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſobedience, they compel, in many caſes, the benevolent man to reſtrain that hand which otherwiſe would be ſtretched out for their relief; and thus, by rendering their maſters odious in their eyes, theſe unfortunate people (apprized at the ſame time that they are held in a ſubjection which is reprobated in the mother country) may be led to make a general ſtruggle for freedom, through deſolation and bloodſhed. Far be it from me, however, to impute motives ſo atrocious to any of thoſe reſpectable characters whoſe exertions for an abolition of the ſlave trade are at this time the object of publick attention. Moſt of theſe gentlemen, without doubt, conſider this meaſure as only the firſt proceſs in a more extended and liberal plan, which has for its object, by ſtopping the further influx of Negroes into our iſlands, to compel the planters to cheriſh and huſband their preſent ſtock; and ſuſtain it in future by natural encreaſe; until, by milder treatment, and the Chriſtian inſtitutes, the manners of the ſlaves ſhall become ſoftened, their vices corrected, and their diſpoſitions gradually prepared for a total emancipation from that abſolute ſlavery in which they are now held. Such is the language, and I doubt not, the fond expectation of many wiſe and excellent perſons. They conſider that all

this

this will be the neceſſary effect of the interpoſition of parliament, in prohibiting the further importation of African ſlaves into our colonies. I have aſſigned ſuch reaſons as occur to me for believing that this concluſion is founded in error, and will terminate in diſappointment. That I am no friend to ſlavery, in any ſhape, or under any modification, I feel a conſcious aſſurance in my own boſom. Yet that the ſlavery of ſome part of the human ſpecies, in a very abject degree, has exiſted in all ages of the world, among the moſt civiliſed, as well as the moſt barbarous nations, no man who has conſulted the records of hiſtory diſputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, ſickneſs, and ſorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the conſtitution of the world, for purpoſes inſcrutable to man. Of this I am certain, that an immediate emancipation of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, would involve both maſter and ſlave in one common deſtruction.— Thus much however is allowed; the miſeries we cannot wholly remove, we may in ſome caſes mitigate: We may alleviate, though we cannot cure. I have ſhewn that this has been attempted, and in many inſtances effected too, by the planters themſelves. What yet remains to be done, conſiſtently with ſound policy, and a juſt regard even to the ſafety and happineſs of the

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Negroes themſelves, is a ſubject of deep and difficult conſideration. Haſty meaſures, however humane in appearance, and plauſible in theory, may produce the moſt calamitous of all conteſts, a *bellum ſervile*; which will probably never end but in the extermination of either the Whites or the Blacks. Among the great variety of ſchemes which have been offered for further meliorating the condition of the ſlaves, the moſt obvious ſeem to be theſe: Firſt, to render their labour certain and determinate: in other words, to apportion to each Negro, according to his ſtrength, a ſpecifick quantity of work to be performed in a given time; allowing to ſuch of them as ſhall have finiſhed their taſk within the time limited, the reſt of the day to themſelves, and pay them wages for extra labour. This is not always practicable, but when it is, I am inclined to think favourably of the ſcheme, becauſe it ſeems calculated to awaken a ſpirit of emulation and induſtry, which the dread of puniſhment can never produce. At the ſame time, it will be neceſſary to ſecure to the Negroes by law, the little property or *peculium* which their own induſtry may thus acquire.—A ſecond propoſal is to make them arbiters on the conduct of each other, by inſtituting a ſort of juries among them for the trial of petty offences. It is conceived that ſuch a meaſure will give them right notions of diſtributive juſtice, and operate powerfully

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fully towards their civilisation and improvement; and I have heard of two instances in Jamaica in which it has been tried with success; but it is evidently a regulation that must be governed by circumstances, and left principally to the prudence and discretion of the owner: an attempt to establish and enforce it by law, in their present notions of right and wrong, would, I fear, create inextricable confusion. A third measure has been recommended, of less doubtful efficacy. It is, to render the sabbath, what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious improvement; to which end, the markets on Sundays ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a christian country; and, if a market is found absolutely necessary to encourage the Negroes in labouring for themselves, some other day, once a fortnight, may be appropriated for that purpose *(m)*. In the mean time, instead of abolishing the slave-trade by act of

(m) The objection to this scheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-six days labour of the whole body of their Negroes, without producing the effect intended, as the whole of each Sunday, will, in such case, be spent in drunkenness and debauchery at home. If this objection be well founded, let the days which are now given to the slaves (exclusive of Sundays) be the days of market, and compel them to work in their own gardens four or five hours every Sunday morning; and attend divine service in the afternoon. Honest labour must surely be more pleasing to the Almighty, as it is certainly more beneficial to man, than profligacy and riot.

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parliament, further encouragement ſhould be given to the importation of a greater proportion of African women, until the ſexes are become nearly equal; after which it is probable that, under the preſent humane and improved ſyſtem of laws and manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural encreaſe. If this good conſequence ſhall happily be produced, it cannot be doubted that the ſlave-trade will of itſelf gradually diminiſh, and perhaps in a few years ceaſe altogether, and expire without a ſtruggle.

But theſe, and all other regulations which can be deviſed for the protection and improvement of this unfortunate claſs of people, will be of little avail, unleſs, as a preliminary meaſure, they ſhall be exempted from the cruel hardſhip, to which they are now frequently liable, of being ſold by creditors, and made ſubject, in a courſe of adminiſtration by executors, to the payment of all debts both of ſimple contract and ſpecialty. This grievance, ſo remorſeleſs and tyrannical in its principle, and ſo dreadful in its effects, though not originally created, is now upheld and confirmed by a Britiſh act of parliament; and no leſs authority is competent to redreſs it. It was an act procured by, and paſſed for the benefit of Britiſh creditors; and I bluſh to add, that its motive and origin have ſanctified the meaſure even in the opinion of men who are among the loudeſt of the de-

claimers againſt ſlavery and the ſlave trade *(n)*. Thus the odious ſeverity of the Roman law, which declared ſentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to chriſtianity! In a few years a good Negro gets comfortably eſtabliſhed, has built himſelf a houſe, obtained a wife, and begins to ſee a young family riſing about him. His proviſion-ground, the creation of his own induſtry, and the ſtaff of his exiſtence, affords him not only ſupport, but the means alſo of adding ſomething to the mere neceſſaries of life. In this ſituation, he is ſeized on by the ſheriff's officer, forcibly ſeparated from his wife and children, dragged to publick auction, purchaſed by a ſtranger, and perhaps ſent to terminate his miſerable exiſtence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light of heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. He is puniſhed becauſe his maſter is unfortunate. I do not believe that any caſe of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater miſery than

(n) The act alluded to, is the 5 George II. c. 7. entitled, "An act for the more eaſy recovery of debts in his Majeſty's plantations." Of the moſt violent of the petitioners to parliament, not one has ſolicited the repeal of this execrable ſtatute. The ſociety in the Old Jewry, though apprized of the grievance, its origin and the remedy, are ſilent on the ſubject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably conſider no rights ſo ſacred as thoſe of creditors.

this! Neither can it be urged, that, like ſome unauthorized caſes of cruelty in the Weſt Indies, it occurs but ſeldom: unhappily, it occurs every day, and, under the preſent ſyſtem, will continue to occur, ſo long as men ſhall continue to be unfortunate.

Let this ſtatute then be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character; it is diſgraceful to humanity. Let the Negroes be attached to the land, and ſold with it. The good effect of a ſimilar regulation in the ſyſtem of ancient villenage has been pointed out and illuſtrated by a great many writers; and thoſe perſons who now oppoſe an extenſion of the ſame benefit to the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, would do well to reflect, that, while they arraign the conduct of the reſident planters towards their ſlaves, they are themſelves abettors and ſupporters of the greateſt of all the grievances under which thoſe unfortunate people continue to ſuffer.*

* It is peculiarly gratifying to the Author of this work that he has the opportunity, in the preſent edition, to inform his readers, that in June 1797, he had the honour and happineſs, as a member of the Britiſh parliament, to bring into the Houſe of Commons, and to ſucceed in carrying it into a law, a bill to repeal ſo much of the 5 Geo. II. c. 7. as relates to Negroes in his Majeſty's plantations.

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☞ A valuable Friend, than whom no man is better acquainted with the Negro character, and the condition of the enſlaved Africans, has favoured me with the following obſervations, which occurred to him on a peruſal of the preceding chapter in the firſt edition.

" That the treatment of the Negroes in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, even before what has been lately done by the colonial aſſemblies to meliorate their condition, was not ſyſtematically bad, is to me convincing from this fact, which all who are acquainted with Negroes on plantations muſt admit: that the Creole race (with ſome few eminent exceptions) exceed the African in intellect, ſtrength, and comelineſs, in a very remarkable manner. If a better horſe is produced from an inferior breed, it is fair to conclude that the colt has had a better groom, and a better paſture than the common on which the dam uſually fed. The great object to be wiſhed at preſent, as it appears to me, is to purify the *moral ſenſe* of Negroes. Hitherto, with all their improvements, they have caught from the Whites, I am afraid, more of the vices than the virtues of civilization. Correct the idea, which a Negro may be ſaid to imbibe with his mother's milk, that whatever he can cheat his owner of, in any direction, is clear gain to himſelf. Make the intereſt of the maſter and the ſlave go hand in hand. Now I think that ſmall wages, ſubject to ſtoppage for delinquency, would have this effect. Such a ſyſtem would be laying a foundation on which a large ſuperſtructure might be built in the reformation of manners. Even in point of expence, an eſtate can well afford it; for the aggregate of time waſted in the ſick houſe, on the mere pretence of illneſs, is equal to a little fortune to every planter.

When

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When I was laſt in Jamaica, I made the experiment with a body of tradeſmen, and punctually paid to each at the end of the week (if a week's work was done) TWO BITTS *(o)*. The effect in point of labour was wonderful, and I believe that the ſyſtem would in time have taught the Negroes alſo, that honeſty was better policy than thieving, &c. and have led by degrees to conſequences ſtill more important and beneficial both to the maſter and the ſlave."

(o) About one ſhilling Engliſh.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

APPENDIXES
TO
BOOK IV.

NUMBER I.

AS a supplement to such part of the preceding book, as relates to the treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies, it is thought necessary to present the reader with the CONSOLIDATED SLAVE ACT OF JAMAICA, *passed the 2d of March* 1792. *It is presumed that this law will demonstrate to general conviction, that the legislature of Jamaica, availing themselves as well of the reproaches of their enemies, as of the suggestions of their friends, have given all possible encouragement to the raising of Negro children in the island, and secured to their labourers as much freedom, and as great a latitude of enjoyment of the necessaries, conveniencies, and comforts of life, as can be done consistently with their own preservation. The humane reader will not complain of the length of this Appendix, if he shall hereafter find that the other British Islands in the West Indies, encouraged by the example before them, shall introduce the benevolent provisions of this Act, into their own Negro code.* APPENDIX.

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JAMAICA, ʃʃ.

AN ACT to repeal an act, intituled "An act to repeal several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes;" and also to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating, and bringing into one act, the several laws relating to slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences; and for other purposes.

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is for the publick good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore Enacted, by the lieutenant governor, council, and assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every the said herein before-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand

Laws and clauses of laws to be repealed.

ſtand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever, any thing in the ſaid laws, and clauſes of laws, or in any other law contained to the contrary, in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of ſlaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and ſupplying them with good and wholeſome proviſions, and proper and ſufficient clothing, and all ſuch other things as may be proper and neceſſary for them, during their being in a ſtate of ſlavery: For which end and purpoſe, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this Act, every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatſoever, ſhall allot and appoint a ſufficient quantity of land for every ſlave he ſhall have in poſſeſſion upon, or belonging to, ſuch plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every ſuch ſlave, and allow ſuch ſlave ſufficient time to work the ſame, in order to provide him, her, or themſelves, with ſufficient proviſions for his, her, or their maintenance: and alſo, all ſuch maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors of plantations, pens, or other lands, ſhall plant upon ſuch plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-proviſions, at leaſt one acre of land for every *ten* negroes that he ſhall be poſſeſſed of on ſuch plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the Negro-grounds aforeſaid; which lands ſhall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every ſlave, and to allow him to cultivate it.

III. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, or his or her overſeer or chief manager, ſhall perſonally inſpect into the condition of ſuch negro-grounds once in every month at the leaſt, in order to ſee that the ſame are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath ſhall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed. And whereas

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Slaves otherwise provided for.

whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns, in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and six pence currency per week for each slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.

IV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor of any slave or slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such slave or slaves, on account of or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm slave

ſlave or ſlaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the neareſt workhouſe, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, until ſuch trial as aforeſaid can be had; and if it ſhall appear to the ſaid juſtice, on ſuch trial, that the party or parties ſo complained of is or are guilty of the ſaid offence, and ſhall refuſe to pay the ſaid ten pounds, and the fees to ſuch workhouſe for the maintenance of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the ſaid juſtice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and ſeal, directed to the conſtable, to commit ſuch offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or pariſh where the offence ſhall be committed, there to remain until he or ſhe ſhall pay the ſaid ſum of ten pounds, and charges as aforeſaid; one moiety of which ſaid fine ſhall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety ſhall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of ſuch pariſh, for the poor of ſaid pariſh; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.

V. And, for the better encouragement of ſlaves to do their duty to their maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, ſhall, once in every year, provide and give to each ſlave they ſhall be poſſeſſed of proper and ſufficient clothing, to be approved of by the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlaves reſides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners to inſtruct ſlaves in the Chriſtian religion.

VI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all maſters and miſtreſſes, owners, or, in their abſence, overſeers of ſlaves, ſhall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the inſtruction of their ſlaves in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, whereby to facilitate their converſion, and ſhall do their utmoſt endeavours to fit them for baptiſm, and as ſoon as conveniently they can, cauſe

to

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to be baptifed all fuch as they can make fenfible of a Deity and the Chriftian faith.

Owners to give in an account of provifion-ground.

VII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforefaid, That every mafter, owner, proprietor, or poffeffor of flaves, his or her overfeer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their flaves and ftock to the juftices and veftry, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, fhall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, alfo give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-provifions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon fuch plantation, pen, or other fettlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of fuch provifions; and, where there are not lands proper for fuch purpofes, then an account, on oath, of the provifion made on fuch plantation, pen, or other fettlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the flaves thereon; and fhall alfo, at the fame time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually ferved to each flave on fuch plantation, pen, or other fettlement, for the approbation of the juftices and veftry as aforefaid; and fhall, likewife, at the fame time declare, on oath, that he hath infpected the negro-grounds (where fuch grounds are allotted) of fuch plantation, pen, or fettlement, according to the directions of this act.

Premium to flaves for informing on runaways, &c.

VIII. And, in order to encourage flaves for every good and worthy act that they fhall do, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforefaid, That every flave or flaves that fhall take up any runaway flave, or inform againft any perfon who fhall have or conceal any runaway flave or flaves, fo that fuch runaway flave or flaves may be taken and reftored to his owner or owners; every fuch flave or flaves, fo informing, fhall be entitled to fuch reward as any juftice fhall in reafon and juftice think juft and reafonable, and be paid by fuch perfon or perfons as fuch juftice fhall determine ought to pay the fame, not exceeding twenty fhillings.

IX. And

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IX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall kill or take any ſlave or ſlaves in actual rebellion, he or they ſhall receive from the churchwardens of the reſpective pariſhes where ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall have been killed, the ſum of three pounds, and the ſum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red croſs on the right ſhoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the reſpective pariſhes where ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof ſhall be reimburſed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

The killing or apprehending rebellious ſlaves rewarded.

X. And, in order to prevent any perſon from mutilating or diſmembering any ſlave or ſlaves, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any maſter, miſtreſs, owner, poſſeſſor, or other perſon whatſoever, ſhall, at his, her, or their own will and pleaſure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, ſufferance, privity, or conſent, mutilate or diſmember any ſlave or ſlaves, he, ſhe, or they ſhall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the ſupreme court of judicature, or in any of the aſſize courts of this iſland; and, upon conviction, ſhall be puniſhed by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and impriſonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every ſlave ſo mutilated or diſmembered; and ſuch puniſhment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the ſame: And, in very atrocious caſes, where the owner of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be convicted of ſuch offence, the court before whom ſuch offender ſhall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in caſe they ſhall think it neceſſary, for the future protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, to declare him, her, or them free, and diſcharged from all manner of ſervitude, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever: And, in all ſuch caſes, the

Perſons mutilating ſlaves fined and impriſoned.

Mutilated ſlaves, in certain caſes, declared free.

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the court are hereby empowered and authorized, if to them it ſhall appear neceſſary, to order and direct the ſaid fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh to which the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves belonged, to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, in conſideration thereof, paying to ſuch of the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves ſo made free, the ſum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and ſupport during life; and in caſe any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall ſuffer any before-deſcribed mutilations, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, on his, her, or their application to any juſtice of the peace, the ſaid juſtice of the peace ſhall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the neareſt workhouſe where ſuch offence ſhall be committed, and ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be there ſafely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of ſuch pariſh, until ſuch time as there may be a legal meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of ſuch pariſh; which juſtices and veſtry ſo met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves: And the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, ſo met, are hereby directed and empowered to make further and full enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves; and, if to them it ſhall appear proper, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered and required to proſecute to effect ſuch owner or owners; the expence of which proſecution ſhall be paid by the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall be committed: And in caſe the owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall appear capable of paying the coſts and charges of ſuch before-mentioned proſecution, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered to commence ſuit or ſuits againſt ſuch owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, and recover all coſts and charges out of purſe, by them laid out and expended in ſuch ſuit or ſuits: And the keeper or ſupervisor of the workhouſe where ſuch mutilated ſlave or

Juſtices to enquire into ſuch mutilations, and proſecute the offenders.

Owners ſued for Coſts.

ſlaves ſhall have been firſt committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the firſt meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where the offence was committed, to produce ſuch mutilated ſlave or ſlaves, for the inſpection and direction of ſuch juſtices and veſtry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before ſuch juſtices and veſtry ſuch ſlave or ſlaves.

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XI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in caſe any juſtice of the peace ſhall receive any complaint or probable intelligence from any ſlave or otherwiſe, that any ſlave or ſlaves is or are ſo mutilated, or is or are confined without ſufficient ſupport, it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch juſtice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to iſſue his warrant to any conſtable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſo mutilated, are confined, and ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to releaſe and bring before ſuch juſtice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorized to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the workhouſe for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry ſhall be made into the fact according to law.

Juſtices to iſſue their warrants to bring mutilated ſlaves before them.

XII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any perſon hereafter ſhall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly kill, or cauſe to be killed, any negro or other ſlave, ſuch perſon ſo offending ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and ſhall ſuffer death accordingly for the ſaid offence: Provided always, that ſuch conviction ſhall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary thereof, in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

Perſons wilfully killing ſlaves to ſuffer death.

XIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, any perſon

Perſons cruelly beating ſlaves, how puniſhable.

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ſon or perſons that ſhall wantonly or cruelly whip, mal-treat, beat, bruiſe, wound, or ſhall impriſon or keep in confinement, without ſufficient ſupport, any ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall be ſubject to be indicted for the ſame in the ſupreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of aſſize, or courts of quarter ſeſſions in this iſland; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, ſhe, or they, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, by fine or impriſonment, or both, as the judges or juſtices of ſuch courts ſhall think proper to inflict; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary in any-wiſe notwithſtanding: And ſuch puniſhment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the ſame, in caſe ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall not be the property of the offender.

Arbitrary puniſhment reſtrained.

XIV. And, in order to reſtrain arbitrary puniſhments, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ſlave on any plantation or ſettlement, or in any of the workhouſes or gaols in this iſland, ſhall receive more than ten laſhes at one time and for one offence, unleſs the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or adminiſtrator, or overſeer, of ſuch plantation or ſettlement, having ſuch ſlave in his care, or ſupervíſor of ſuch workhouſe, or keeper of ſuch gaol, ſhall be preſent; and that no ſuch owner, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or overſeer, ſupervíſor, or gaol-keeper, ſhall, on any account, puniſh a ſlave with more than thirty-nine laſhes at one time, and for one offence, nor inflict, or ſuffer to be inflicted, ſuch laſt-mentioned puniſhment, nor any other number of laſhes, in the ſame day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former puniſhment, under the penalty of ten pounds for every offence, to be recovered againſt the perſon directing or permitting ſuch puniſhment.

Putting iron collars or other chains on ſlaves, prohibited.

XV. And whereas a miſchievous practice hath ſometimes prevailed of puniſhing ill-diſpoſed ſlaves, and ſuch as are apt to abſcond from their owners, by fixing or cauſing

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causing to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks, to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish any negro or other slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights, of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorized, directed, and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.

XVI. And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of negro, mulatto, and other slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and, having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said several

Justices and vestry to support disabled negroes.

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How ſuch ſlaves are diſpoſed of.

ſeveral towns and pariſhes of this iſland, of ſuch negro, mulatto, or other ſlaves, or other unhappy objects as aforeſaid: And the magiſtrates reſpectively of ſuch town and pariſh are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all ſuch objects as aforeſaid to be removed and conveyed to the reſpective workhouſes of each pariſh, where (if a ſlave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of ſuch ſlave lived or reſided; or, if a perſon of colour made free, where the perſon or perſons who manumiſed or ſet free ſuch perſon of colour reſided before his deceaſe, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforeſaid: And the magiſtrates and veſtries of the ſeveral towns and pariſhes as aforeſaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all ſuch humane and ſalutary regulations, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, as to them ſhall appear neceſſary and expedient.

XVII. And whereas it is abſolutely neceſſary, that the ſlaves in this iſland ſhould be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due ſubordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legiſlature, all means and opportunities of ſlaves committing rebellious conſpiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and deſtruction of the white people, and others in this iſland, prevented, and that proper puniſhments ſhould be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ſlave, ſuch only excepted as are going with firewood, graſs, fruit, proviſions, or ſmall ſtock and other goods, which they may lawfully ſell, to market, and returning therefrom, ſhall hereafter be ſuffered or permitted to go out of his or her maſter or owner's plantation or ſettlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unleſs ſuch ſlave ſhall have a ticket from his maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, expreſſing particularly the time of ſuch ſlave's ſetting out, and where he or ſhe is going, and the time limited

Owners muſt not allow their ſlaves to travel without tickets,

for

for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty ſhillings for every ſlave ſo offending, to be recovered from the maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, in a ſummary manner, before any one juſtice of the peace, by warrant of diſtreſs, complaint being made to him upon oath, unleſs the maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, of ſuch ſlave ſhall prove, upon oath, before any juſtice of the peace of the pariſh or precinct where ſuch maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, may or ſhall live, or happen to be, that he did give the ſaid ſlave ſuch ticket as aforeſaid, or that ſuch ſlave went away without his conſent; and if ſuch juſtice ſhall refuſe or neglect his duty, either in cauſing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforeſaid, on the owner, overſeer, or any other perſon, who ſhall ſuffer a ſlave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforeſaid, every juſtice ſo offending ſhall forfeit the ſum of five pounds; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

under penalty.

Penalty on neglect of duty.

XVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That for the future, all ſlaves in this iſland ſhall be allowed the uſual number of holidays that were allowed at the uſual ſeaſons of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide: Provided, That, at every ſuch reſpective ſeaſon, no two holidays ſhall be allowed to follow or ſucceed immediately one after the other, except at Chriſtmas, when they ſhall be allowed Chriſtmas-day, and alſo the day immediately ſucceeding; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding: And if any maſter, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or ſettlement, or the overſeer of ſuch plantation or ſettlement, ſhall preſume, at the ſeaſons aforeſaid, to allow any holidays to any ſlave belonging to any ſuch plantation or ſettlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every perſon ſo offending, ſhall forfeit the ſum of five pounds.

Slaves allowed holidays.

XIX. And whereas it hath been uſual and cuſtomary with the planters in this iſland, to allow their ſlaves one

 day

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day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays) except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.

XX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such slaves.

Time allowed for breakfast, &c.

XXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and

Penalty for suffering unlawful assemblies of slaves.

and towards the ſupport of the government of this iſland, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheleſs, That information of ſuch offence ſhall be made, upon oath, before any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, within the ſpace of five days after the commiſſion of ſuch offence.

XXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all officers, civil and military, ſhall be, and are hereby, empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, ſettlement, or other place, to diſperſe all ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, and to ſuppreſs and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noiſe, as before mentioned; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding. Civil or military officers to ſuppreſs ſuch aſſemblies.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the ſlaves of different plantations, when ſuch ſlaves are generally intoxicated; and as it has been found alſo, that thoſe meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any overſeer, or, in his abſence, any book-keeper, or other white perſon, having the care and management of any plantation or ſettlement, ſhall ſuffer any ſlaves to aſſemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or ſhells, every ſuch overſeer, book-keeper, or other white perſon ſo offending, ſhall, for every ſuch offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the ſupreme court of judicature, or before the juſtices of aſſize, ſuffer ſix months impriſonment, without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforeſaid, before one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, within five days after the commiſſion of ſuch offence: And provided always neverthele{ſ}s, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to prevent any maſter, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or ſettlement, or the overſeer thereof, from granting liberty Overſeers, &c. who ſuffer ſuch aſſemblies, to be impriſoned. Proviſo.

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liberty to the ſlaves of ſuch plantation or ſettlement only, for aſſembling together upon ſuch plantation or ſettlement, and playing and diverting themſelves in any innocent amuſements, ſo as they do not make uſe of military drums, horns, or ſhells; but that they ſhall and may grant ſuch liberty when and as often as they pleaſe, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithſtanding: Provided, that ſuch amuſements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

Negro burials to be in day-time.

XXIV. And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other ſlaves, to the diſturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all negro burials ſhall in future take place in the day-time only, ſo that the ſame may be ended before ſunſet; and if any maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, his or her overſeer, or chief manager, ſhall knowingly ſuffer or permit the burial of any ſlave otherwiſe than as before directed, he ſhall forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds.

Impriſonment for negroes ſuffering aſſemblies at their houſes.

XXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall hereafter ſuffer any unlawful aſſembly of ſlaves at his or her houſe or ſettlement, every ſuch Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall, upon due conviction thereof, ſuffer impriſonment, not exceeding ſix months; Provided nevertheleſs, That information thereof ſhall be given, on oath, within five days of ſuch unlawful meeting.

Slaves not to keep fire-arms.

XXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all ſlaves who ſhall hereafter be found to have in his or their cuſtody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, ſlugs, or ball, ſuch ſlave, being thereof convicted before two juſtices, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid juſtices ſhall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouſe, not exceeding the term of ſix months.

XXVII. And

XXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict: Provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners persons or goods.

Punishment on slaves offering violence to whites.

XXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices of the said court shall think proper to inflict, not extending to life or limb.

Punishment on slaves harbouring slaves.

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the publick what slaves shall be deemed such; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market, shall be deemed a runaway.

Who are deemed runaways.

XXX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings,

Reward for securing runaways.

BOOK IV.

ſhillings, and no more, beſides mile-money, at the rate of one ſhilling per mile for the firſt five miles, and ſix-pence per mile afterwards: Provided ſuch ſlave or ſlaves had abſented him, her, or themſelves, ten days, without the privity, knowledge, or conſent, of the proprietor, overſeer, or other white perſon, reſiding on the plantation or ſettlement to which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall belong; which time of abſence of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be declared on the oath of ſuch proprietor, overſeer, or other white perſon, as aforeſaid, if the party taking up ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every perſon or perſons who ſhall apprehend any ſlave or ſlaves, that uſually reſide in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this iſland, and that at the time are actually runaway or abſent from their owner, employer, or manager's ſervice, ten days, ſhall be entitled to the reward of ten ſhillings, although the ſlave or ſlaves ſhould not be eight miles diſtant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheleſs, That nothing in this act contained, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to an allowance of the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings and mile-money, in addition to the ſum allowed to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided alſo, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the ſaid maroons of their legal and eſtabliſhed reward of forty ſhillings for each negro.

Proviſo.

XXXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the perſon or perſons ſo apprehending ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall convey him, her, or them, to their reſpective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouſe of ſuch pariſh, if any workhouſe is eſtabliſhed there; and in caſe of there being no workhouſe, to the next gaol, in caſe the owner, employer, or manager, of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall refuſe to pay the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings, and mile-money as aforeſaid, or take the oath as to the time of abſence; in which caſe, the gaol

How runaways are to be diſpoſed of.

or

or workhouſe-keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive ſuch ſlave or ſlaves into his or their cuſtody, and to pay the party delivering ſuch ſlave or ſlaves the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings, and mile-money as aforeſaid, and no more, for each ſlave ſo delivered, under the penalty of five pounds: Provided nevertheleſs, That if ſuch ſlave or ſlaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouſe by any white perſon, free negro, free mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouſe-keeper ſhall pay ſuch ſum before ſuch perſon ſhall have taken an oath, (which oath ſuch gaoler or workhouſe-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner or poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves) that the ſlave or ſlaves ſo apprehended was or were at the reputed diſtance of eight miles from the houſe, plantation, or ſettlement, to which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that ſuch ſlave or ſlaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his maſter, miſtreſs, overſeer, employer, or manager, at the time ſuch ſlave or ſlaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to paſs unmoleſted, and that the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves had been carried firſt to the owner, employer, or manager, of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves (provided ſuch owner, employer, or manager, ſhall be in the pariſh in which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be apprehended), and that the maſter, miſtreſs, overſeer, or manager, had refuſed to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

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XXXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ticket ſhall be granted to any ſlave or ſlaves for any time exceeding one calendar month. Time of tickets limited.

XXXIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforeſaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overſeer, or manager of every Account of births and deaths muſt be given in.

BOOK IV.

every plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the ſlaves of ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement.

Overſeer to pay if his neglect.

XXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath ſuch ſeveral accounts ſhall be owing to the neglect of the overſeer or manager of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, it ſhall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or poſſeſſor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, to ſtop and detain the penalty he or ſhe ſhall ſuffer by this law, out of the wages of ſuch overſeer or manager.

Surgeons to give in an account of ſlaves dying.

XXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the doctor or ſurgeon of every plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, ſhall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year (the time of giving in as aforeſaid) or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of ſuch ſlaves as have died in the preceding year, or during ſuch time as ſuch doctor or ſurgeon hath had the care of the ſlaves on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, with the cauſe of ſuch deaths, to the beſt of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in caſe it ſhall appear, to the ſatisfaction of the juſtices and veſtry, from the return of the owner, overſeer, or manager aforeſaid, that there has been a natural encreaſe in the number of ſlaves on any ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, the overſeer ſhall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, the ſum of three pounds for every ſlave born on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, in the time aforeſaid, and which ſhall be then living, after deducting the decreaſe; and the owner or proprietor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, ſhall have a deduction from the firſt of his or her publick taxes that ſhall become due, of the

Encouragement for encreaſe of ſlaves.

the ſum ſo paid to the overſeer, on producing a certificate of the juſtices and veſtry of ſuch encreaſe, and a receipt of the overſeer for the ſum ſo paid.

Further encouragement for encreaſe of ſlaves.

XXXVI. And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the encreaſe and protection of negro infants, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every female ſlave, who ſhall have ſix children living, ſhall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwiſe, and the owner or poſſeſſor of every ſuch female ſlave ſhall be exempted from all manner of taxes for ſuch female ſlave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this iſland paſſed, or annually to be paſſed, to the contrary notwithſtanding; and a deduction ſhall be made for all ſuch female ſlaves from the taxes of ſuch owner or poſſeſſor, by certificate of the juſtices and veſtry, at the ſame time, and in manner as directed in the caſe of an annual encreaſe of the number of ſlaves as aforeſaid; Provided nevertheleſs, That proof be given, on oath, to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, not only that the requiſite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but alſo that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an eaſy and comfortable maintenance.

Penalty on free negroes, &c. granting tickets to ſlaves.

XXXVII. And whereas the more effectually to conceal runaway ſlaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free negroes, or free mulattoes, Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving ſuch ticket, with ſuch intent, ſhall be deemed guilty of forgery, and ſhall be liable to be tried for the ſaid offence before the ſupreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of aſſize in this iſland where the offence ſhall be committed; and, on conviction, ſhall ſuffer the loſs of freedom, tranſportation, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court, in their diſcretion, ſhall think proper to inflict.

XXXVIII. And,

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Whites granting ſuch tickets puniſhable.

XXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if ſuch ticket ſhall be granted or given by any white perſon, with ſuch intent as aforeſaid, to any ſlave or ſlaves, before or after his or their abſenting themſelves from their owner, employer, overſeer, or manager, ſuch white perſon ſhall be deemed guilty of forgery, and ſhall be liable to be tried for the ſame before the ſupreme court of judicature, or either of the aſſize courts of this iſland, where the offence ſhall be committed; and, on conviction, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the court, in their diſcretion, ſhall think proper to inflict.

Keepers of gaols, &c. to advertiſe runaways,

XXXIX. And, to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway ſlaves may have a due knowledge where ſuch ſlaves are confined, after their being apprehended and ſent to any workhouſe or gaol in this iſland, in order that ſuch owners and proprietors may apply for ſuch ſlaves; Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouſes, or gaol-keepers, in any of the pariſhes of this iſland, ſhall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertiſe in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingſton, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the heighth, names, marks, and ſex, and alſo the country, where the ſame can be aſcertained, of each and every runaway ſlave then in their cuſtody, together with the time of their being ſent into cuſtody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every ſlave ſo neglected by him to be advertiſed; and, for the expence of ſuch advertiſement, they the ſaid workhouſe-keepers or gaol-keepers ſhall and may, and they are hereby authorized to charge the owner or proprietor of ſuch runaway ſlaves ſo advertiſed, at and after the rate of one ſhilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it ſhall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouſe or gaol-

detain them until paid their fees,

gaol-keeper to detain and keep in his or their cuſtody ſuch runaway ſlave or ſlaves ſo brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or ſome perſon on their behalf, properly authorized, ſhall pay unto him or them what he or they ſo paid to the perſon or perſons who apprehended and brought ſuch ſlave or ſlaves into cuſtody, with two ſhillings and ſix-pence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the coſt of advertiſing, after the rate above mentioned, and ſix-pence for every twenty-four hours ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall have been in cuſtody, for maintenance, and two-pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nouriſhment where neceſſary, and alſo the charges of advertiſing above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouſe-keeper, or ſupervisor, and no other perſon, ſhall atteſt, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending ſuch ſlave, were actually paid to the perſon who brought ſuch runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the ſaid account are ſtrictly conformable to this law.

atteſt the charges for mile-money, &c.

XL. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the keeper of every workhouſe or gaol in this iſland ſhall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every ſlave confined in ſuch workhouſe or gaol, a ſufficient quantity of good and wholeſome proviſions daily; that is to ſay, not leſs than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and alſo one herring or ſhad, or other ſalted proviſions equal thereto.

allow them, proviſions,

XLI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no gaol-keeper in this iſland, or any perſon acting under him as clerk or deputy, ſhall, on any pretence whatſoever, work or employ any ſlave or ſlaves ſent to his cuſtody, upon any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, belonging

and not hire them out.

belonging to or in the poſſeſſion of any ſuch gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves out to work for any other perſon or perſons, during ſuch time ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be in his cuſtody, but that all ſuch ſlaves ſhall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or pariſh, in order to be inſpected by any perſon or perſons deſiring the ſame; and in caſe any gaol-keeper ſhall offend herein, he ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds.

Certain runaways, how liable to be puniſhed.

XLII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all ſlaves who ſhall have been in this iſland for the ſpace of two years, and ſhall runaway, and continue abſent for a term not exceeding ſix months, ſhall be liable to be tried by two juſtices; and, upon conviction thereof, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid juſtices ſhall think proper to inflict.

Runaways abſent ſix months, how puniſhable.

XLIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any ſlave ſhall run away from his owner or lawful poſſeſſor, and be abſent for more than ſix months, ſuch ſlave, being duly convicted thereof, ſhall be ſentenced to be confined to hard labour for ſuch time as the court ſhall determine, or be tranſported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

Slaves guilty of Obeah, how puniſhable.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many miſchiefs that may hereafter ariſe from the wicked art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil ſpirits, whereby the weak and ſuperſtitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilſt under their protection, from any evils that might otherwiſe happen; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, any ſlave who ſhall pretend to any ſupernatural power, in order to promote the purpoſes of rebellion, ſhall, upon conviction thereof, ſuffer death, tranſportation, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court ſhall think proper to direct;

any

any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Slaves attempting to poison, to suffer death.

XLV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being slaves) being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.

XLVI. And whereas great number of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts, agreeably to their crimes, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person, who shall have the overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty

 pounds

pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.

XLVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcass of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which they may hereafter commit, Be it Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind over

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over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter sessions are usually held, and, where there are no quarter sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices, so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and impanelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted) personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said slave or slaves so complained of to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves, and shall by the said justices (the charge or accusation being first read) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour for any limited time not ex-

 ceeding

BOOK IV.

ceeding two years, according to the nature of the offence, and ſhall cauſe ſuch ſentence to be carried into execution, and at ſuch time and place as they ſhall think proper, women with child only excepted, whoſe execution ſhall be reſpited until a reaſonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheleſs, That at every court of quarter ſeſſions held in each and every pariſh or precinct within this iſland, the juſtices there aſſembled ſhall and may, after the uſual buſineſs of the ſaid court ſhall be done, form themſelves into a court, for the purpoſe of enquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any ſlave or ſlaves are liable to be puniſhed with death, or tranſportation, or confinement to hard labour, as aforeſaid, and ſhall open the ſaid court by proclamation, declaring the ſame to be a ſlave-court for ſuch purpoſe, and ſhall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other reſpects, as the three juſtices aſſociated and met as herein before mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of ſlaves for ſuch offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouſe within the ſaid pariſh or precinct, of all and every ſlave and ſlaves who ſhall or may then be in the cuſtody of the marſhal or keeper of the workhouſe, within each and every pariſh or precinct as aforeſaid, and ſhall forthwith cauſe a jury, conſiſting of nine jur rs, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the ſaid court of quarter ſeſſions, and ſhall cauſe them to be ſeverally ſworn, as they ſhall appear, to try all and every ſuch ſlave and ſlaves as ſhall be brought before them, charged with any ſuch offences as aforeſaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other caſes.

Jurors to ſerve under penalty.

XLIX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all and every the jurors who ſhall be returned to ſerve as jurors at the quarter-ſeſſions, to be holden as aforeſaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the ſaid ſlave-court,

ſo

ſo to be formed and holden as aforeſaid, and to ſerve as jurors thereon as they ſhall reſpectively be called: Provided alſo, that nothing in this act contained ſhall hinder or prevent the ſaid juſtices, upon any ſuch trial, where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be condemned to die, from reſpiting the execution of ſuch ſentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleaſure of the commander in chief ſhall be known, in caſe proper cauſe ſhall appear to them for ſo doing; and that if the jury upon any ſuch trial ſhall apply to the ſaid juſtices to ſuſpend the execution of any ſentence until the pleaſure of the commander in chief is known, the ſaid juſtices ſhall be obliged to ſuſpend the ſame for thirty days, except in caſes of trial of any ſlave or ſlaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which caſes the ſaid juſtices ſhall, if they think it expedient, order the ſentence paſſed on ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to be carried into immediate execution.

Three juſtices to form a court.

L. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That not leſs than three juſtices ſhall conſtitute a court for the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves for any crime or offence that ſhall ſubject ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to ſuffer death, tranſportation, or confinement to hard labour as aforeſaid; and that, upon all ſuch trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the ſaid jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, ſhall be allowed.

How executions are performed.

LI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where the puniſhment of death is inflicted, the execution ſhall be performed in a publick part of the pariſh and with due ſolemnity; and care ſhall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marſhal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of ſuch execution ſhall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body ſhall be afterwards diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the court ſhall direct: And provided alſo, that where

P 4 ſeveral

BOOK IV.

several slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

Slaves giving false evidence how punished.

LII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any slave or slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

How fees of slaves discharged by proclamation are paid.

LIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, where any slave or slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due to him or them for such slave or slaves at the time of such discharge, from the publick, upon application and due proof made, in the most solemn manner, to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such slave or slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions equal to what is allowed by this law.

Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.

LIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto; And further, that the deputy-

deputy-marſhal for the ſaid pariſh, or ſome proper perſon acting under him, ſhall alſo be obliged to attend ſuch trial, under the ſame penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he ſhall be entitled to receive from the church-wardens of ſuch pariſh forty ſhillings, for attending at the trial and execution of ſuch offender as ſhall be condemned to die, and no more.

Five days notice of trial to be given.

LV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all trials of any ſlave or ſlaves under this act, ſufficient notice of ſuch trial ſhall be firſt given to the owner, proprietor, or poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attornies, or other repreſentative or repreſentatives; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Slaves executed, or tranſported, to be valued.

LVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and ſhall receive ſentence of death or tranſportation, the court, at the time of trying ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall alſo enquire what ſum or ſums of money ſuch owner, proprietor, or employer of the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves ought to receive for ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, and certify the ſame, ſo that ſuch ſum or ſums of money do not exceed the ſum of ſixty pounds for each ſlave ſentenced as aforeſaid.

Such valuation to be paid by receiver-general.

LVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be brought to trial, and ſhall be valued according to the direction of this act, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be paid for by the receiver-general of this iſland, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money ariſing from the actual ſale of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves as ſhall be ſo tranſported by the deputy-marſhal ſhall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the pariſh where the offence ſhall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receivee-general, for the uſe of the publick.

Slaves returning from tranſ-

LVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid,

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portation suffer death.

aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Punishment for inferior crimes.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at publick outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

Provost-marshal to deliver run-aways to workhouse-keeper.

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of run-away and other slaves; And whereas there now are many such

ſuch ſlaves in the poſſeſſion of the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouſes in this iſland to great advantage; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, it ſhall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the reſpective workhouſes in this iſland, if to them it ſhall ſeem meet, to demand and receive from the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway negroes or other ſlaves in his or their poſſeſſion, or that may hereafter come into his or their cuſtody or poſſeſſion, upon the ſaid governors and guardians paying unto the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the ſaid runaway ſlaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the provoſt-marſhal and his lawful deputies ſhall comply with ſuch requiſitions under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Runaways to be committed to workhouſe.

LXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no runaway ſlave ſhall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magiſtrate of a pariſh where there is any workhouſe eſtabliſhed, but to ſuch workhouſe only.

Horſes, &c. belonging to ſlaves to be taken up and ſold.

LXII. And whereas the permitting and ſuffering negro and other ſlaves to keep horſes, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great miſchiefs to the iſland in general; In order, therefore, to remedy the ſame, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, the maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of any plantation or pen in this iſland, having on any ſuch plantation or pen any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any ſlave or ſlaves, knowing the ſame to be ſuch, ſhall cauſe them to be taken up, and ſhall produce them at the moſt publick place in the pariſh where taken up, at ſuch time as

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as the juſtices and veſtry ſhall, by advertiſement in the publick newſpapers, appoint for that purpoſe, and that ſuch horſes, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there ſold and diſpoſed of at publick outcry: and if any maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon as aforeſaid, ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo doing, each and every of them ſhall, for every neglect or refuſal, reſpectively, forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a ſummary manner before any two juſtices of the peace for the pariſh or precinct where ſuch neglect or refuſal ſhall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witneſs or witneſſes; which penalty ſhall be to the uſe of the perſon informing.

Penalty for permitting ſlaves to keep horſes.

LXIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, no maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall knowingly permit or ſuffer any ſlave or ſlaves to keep on ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in caſe of ſo doing, ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforeſaid.

Oath to be made that ſlaves have no property.

LXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, at the reſpective times of their giving in an account of their ſlaves and ſtock to the juſtices and veſtry, ſhall alſo make oath, that none of the ſaid horſes, mares, mules, or geldings, ſo given in, do belong to any negro or other ſlave; and that ſuch perſon, ſo giving in, or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their poſſeſſion, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any ſlave or ſlaves; and in caſe any perſon or perſons ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo to do, every perſon ſo neglecting or refuſing ſhall, for every offence,

forfeit

forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the ſame ſummary manner, and to be diſpoſed of as hereinbefore mentioned.

APPENDIX.

Slaves not to purchaſe horſes, &c.

LXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, no negro or other ſlave in this iſland ſhall purchaſe or buy any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting ſuch horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be diſpoſed of as hereinbefore mentioned: And if any perſon whatſoever ſhall ſell or give any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, to any negro or other ſlave, or to any perſon in truſt for ſuch negro or other ſlave, every ſuch perſon ſhall, for every ſuch horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, ſo ſold or given, forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds; and every perſon who ſhall purchaſe, or be concerned in the purchaſe of, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, in truſt for any negro or other ſlave, ſhall forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds; which ſaid penalties ſhall be recovered in the ſame ſummary manner, and diſpoſed of as hereinbefore mentioned; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

Penalty for concealing ſlaves againſt whom warrants are iſſued.

LXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, in future, whenever a warrant ſhall be granted by one or more of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace againſt any ſlave, if the ſaid ſlave cannot be immediately taken on the ſaid warrant, the owner, poſſeſſor, attorney, guardian, or overſeer, of ſuch ſlave, ſhall be ſerved with a copy of the ſaid warrant; and if he, ſhe, or they, do not carry the ſaid ſlave before a magiſtrate, to be dealt with according to law on the ſaid warrant; and if it ſhall be afterwards proved that the owner, poſſeſſor, attorney, guardian, or overſeer, of ſuch ſlave, wilfully detained or concealed ſaid ſlave, he, ſhe, or they, ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas ſeveral ſlaves have lately found means to deſert from their owners, and depart from this iſland,

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island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same: And whereas there is reason to suspect that such slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape aad departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting, such deserters: For remedy whereof, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off, this island in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting, in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.

LXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons, so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Penalty for assisting slaves to go off the island.

LXIX. And

LXIX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof; and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to go off the island.

LXX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting, such slave or slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Persons so offending to be proceeded against.

LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; In order, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, Be it Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays herein before mentioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence

Overseers not to leave estates on holidays.

BOOK IV.

offence ſhall happen; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Slaves not to be mutilated.

LXXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall not be lawful for any juſtice of the peace, ſitting on the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, or otherwiſe, to ſentence or order any ſlave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatſoever.

Puniſhment on ſuch as eſcape from the workhouſe.

LXXIII. And be it further Enacted, That if any negro or other ſlave, who may be ſentenced to be confined in the workhouſe for the term of two years or a leſs time, ſhall eſcape from ſuch confinement before the expiration of his ſentence, ſuch negro or other ſlave, being retaken, ſhall, on proof of his or her identity, before two juſtices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be ſent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty laſhes.

Penalty for ſuffering ſlaves to eſcape.

LXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authoriry aforeſaid, That if the provoſt-marſhal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful conſtable, or workhouſe-keeper, ſhall willingly or negligently ſuffer any ſlave or ſlaves to eſcape, who ſhall be committed to his or their cuſtody for any offence under this act, ſo that ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall not be retaken within two years, ſuch marſhal, conſtable, or workhouſe-keeper, who ſhall ſuffer ſuch eſcape, ſhall forfeit the ſum of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to ſue for the value of the ſame.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.

LXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no negro or other ſlave ſhall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horſes, mares, mules, or aſſes, in any part of this iſland, with lances, guns, cutlaſſes, or other inſtruments of death, unleſs in the company of his or their maſter, overſeer, or ſome other white perſon by him or them deputed, or by permiſſion in writing; and if any negro or other ſlave ſhall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two juſtices, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they ſhall think proper to inflict.

LXXVI. And

APPENDIX.

LXXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for the juſtices aforeſaid, and they are hereby required, to do their ſeveral and reſpective duties under this act when martial law ſhall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not ſubſiſting; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

Juſtices to do their duty in martial law.

LXXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all jurors ſerving at ſlave courts, and every perſon and perſons whoſe preſence may be requiſite, at the examination of any ſlave or ſlaves, or upon the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, and who ſhall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and ſeal of any juſtice of the peace, and all and every ſlave and ſlaves who ſhall be brought as witneſſes, ſhall be protected in their perſons from all meſne or judicial proceſs whatſoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, ſuch examinations or trial, and that ſuch ſlaves ſhall not be ſubject to be levied on.

Jurors, &c. protected.

LXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they ſhall be recovered and applied, ſhall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a ſummary manner before any two of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, by diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the ſupreme court of judicature of this iſland, or in either of the courts of aſſize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no eſſoin, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius proſequi, ſhall be entered; one moiety of which penalties ſhall be to the pariſh where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame.

How penalties ſhall be recovered and diſpoſed of.

NUMBER II.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of SHIPS, with their Tonnage, which cleared from *Great Britain* to *Africa*, in each Year, from 1700, together with the Total Exports to *Africa* in each Year, during the same Period; distinguishing the Value of the *British*, *India*, and *Foreign Goods*; to which are added, the Quantity and Value of each Article, from the Year 1782.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701	104	—	83,280	14	6	—	50,673	7	5	133,954	1	11
1702	72	—	54,733	11	5	—	41,318	14	4	96,052	5	9
1703	56	—	64,155	19	5	—	40,023	14	2	104,179	13	7
1704	50	—	47,646	14	3	—	39,019	3	7	86,665	17	10
1705	45	—	31,883	7	2	—	33,221	8	11	65,104	16	1
1706	42	—	37,003	16	—	—	19,682	11	4	56,686	7	4
1707	31	—	58,531	8	6	—	33,596	7	10	92,127	16	4
1708	—	—	40,507	18	7	—	15,485	18	—	55,993	16	7
1709	38	4,430	33,539	9	1	—	25,864	3	4	59,403	12	5
1710	—	—	45,595	19	7	—	23,391	9	10	68,987	9	5
1711	—	—	37,518	7	11	—	26,758	7	3	64,276	15	2
1712	—	—	24,791	6	6	—	12,716	11	8	37,507	18	2

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £.	s.	d.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	s.	d.	TOTAL. £.	s.	d.
1713	—	—	87,934	8	3	—	23,871	—	1	111,805	8	4
1714	—	—	34,848	15	2	—	28,568	12	—	63,417	7	2
1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—	27,363	5	1	51,912	6	2
1716	32	3,532	54,337	—	10	—	43,548	11	8	97,885	12	6
1717	43	4,845	59,186	4	—	—	53,263	8	2	112,449	12	2
1718	60	6,958	46,231	5	9	—	47,028	10	9	93,313	16	6
1719	39	3,900	29,382	9	2	—	37,059	5	9	66,441	14	11
1720	65	5,764	60,928	5	7	—	69,422	9	4	130,350	14	11
1721	54	5,140	48,908	3	1	—	77,148	—	4	126,056	3	5
1722	59	6,135	70,217	7	3	—	116,338	17	2	186,556	4	5
1723	55	4,200	62,242	16	—	—	76,264	17	3	138,507	13	3
1724	74	7,450	95,266	—	11	—	121,102	1	8	216,368	2	7
1725	—	—	121,273	3	10	—	162,751	12	—	284,024	15	10
1726	—	—	65,180	—	6	—	153,524	11	9	218,704	12	3
1727	—	—	64,225	18	3	—	74,381	16	3	138,607	14	6

N° II.—*Account of Ships cleared from Great Britain to Africa, &c.*—continued.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £.	s.	d.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	s.	d.	Total. £.	s.	d.
1728	—	—	75,400	13	1	—	112,003	2	6	187,403	15	7
1729	—	—	96,895	4	11	—	156,484	17	6	253,380	2	5
1730	111	10,416	109,688	7	4	—	151,001	15	3	260,690	2	7
1731	—	—	101,076	3	2	—	105,027	1	2	206,103	4	4
1732	—	—	87,746	2	4	—	116,254	—	1	204,000	2	5
1733	—	—	50,005	17	4	—	78,781	17	5	128,787	14	9
1734	—	—	52,144	7	11	—	76,539	17	4	128,684	5	3
1735	—	—	30,721	—	1	—	99,698	4	9	130,419	4	10
1736	—	—	87,619	14	3	—	105,534	5	7	193,153	19	10
1737	109	10,560	107,872	4	3	—	126,227	19	4	234,100	3	7
1738	—	—	120,884	5	9	—	156,363	19	5	277,248	5	2
1739	—	—	87,630	6	8	—	132,243	8	4	219,873	15	—
1740	—	—	40,563	19	2	—	69,979	15	10	110,543	15	—
1741	—	—	65,708	6	10	—	66,983	2	1	132,691	8	11
1742	—	—	52,608	3	2	—	77,776	19	1	130,385	2	3

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £.	s.	d.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	s.	d.	TOTAL. £.	s.	d.
1743	—	—	98,497	6	9	—	120,551	—	4	219,048	7	1
1744	53	4,326	37,303	18	1	—	57,789	5	—	95,093	3	1
1745	—	—	26,665	4	9	—	44,734	6	3	71,399	11	—
1746	—	—	50,289	7	3	—	67,185	—	5	117,474	7	8
1747	—	—	78,846	17	9	—	107,553	4	—	186,400	1	9
1748	—	—	107,136	13	4	—	126,534	10	3	233,671	3	7
1749	—	—	109,819	12	8	—	88,619	11	8	198,439	4	4
1750	—	—	77,561	13	6	—	83,230	—	6	160,791	14	—
1751	94	9,843	100,378	17	7	—	114,261	6	6	214,640	4	1
1752	106	11,327	147,012	10	2	—	89,054	3	2	236,026	13	4
1753	126	12,053	207,324	17	10	—	68,035	11	—	275,360	8	10
1754	124	10,352	152,922	5	11	—	82,135	7	7	235,057	13	6
1755	86	7,617	111,688	10	4	—	61,981	9	8	173,670	—	—
1756	100	8,932	127,672	10	9	—	60,910	8	9	188,582	19	6
1757	74	7,856	111,725	19	4	—	42,772	3	4	154,498	2	8
1758	103	12,217	114,193	11	11	—	53,706	4	7	167,899	16	6

N° II.—*Account of Ships cleared from Great Britain to Africa, &c.*—continued.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d	£.	s.	d.
1759	120	13,212	127,315	3	—	—			101,145	7	—	228,460	10	—
1760	138	15,647	243,542	18	9	—			102,005	1	4	345,548	—	1
1761	138	15,689	246,720	1	5	—			78,587	—	6	325,307	1	11
1762	123	14,469	209,677	9	4	—			63,450	9	3	273,127	18	7
1763	163	18,939	346,242	8	3	—			117,576	1	1	463,818	9	4
1764	163	17,902	324,820	18	3	—			140,057	15	11	464,878	14	2
1765	163	18,754	333,647	9	6	—			135,387	4	10	469,034	14	4
1766	134	15,665	364,180	6	9	—			132,609	5	3	496,789	12	—
1767	158	16,799	398,066	3	1	—			159,996	2	7	558,062	5	8
1768	134	13,471	416,297	9	11	—			196,094	19	9	612,392	9	8
1769	146	14,743	387,177	15	2	—			218,002	10	9	605,180	5	11
1770	156	16,211	347,252	14	8	—			223,750	12	1	571,003	6	9
1771	192	20,296	449,487	8	—	168,340	11	9	94,710	7	7	712,538	7	4
1772	175	19,021	564,013	14	—	187,727	15	10	114,653	1	5	866,394	11	3
1773	151	15,696	419,926	9	8	140,403	8	1	127,780	13	2	688,110	10	11
1774	167	17,218	528,333	5	—	183,095	17	8	135,096	9	9	846,525	12	5

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Maufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1775	152	16,787	474,053	19	3	188,731	3	7	123,382	19	10	786,168	2	8
1776	101	12,083	300,623	16	4	96,329	13	1	73,825	11	8	470,779	1	1
1777	58	7,196	139,975	19	—	56,647	14	3	42,594	9	9	239,218	3	—
1778	41	5,316	95,690	19	8	34,154	8	8	24,240	13	6	154,086	1	10
1779	28	3,475	99,183	13	11	46,012	12	3	14,021	13	5	159,217	19	7
1780	53	7,355	121,288	1	5	56,627	17	—	17,991	15	7	195,907	14	—
1781	77	9,730	208,055	16	9	73,591	9	8	31,175	1	5	312,822	7	10
1782	69	9 311	253,250	11	8	71,254	18	—	27,229	8	9	351,734	18	5
1783	130	20,077	573,745	15	2	153,619	—	3	60,698	12	7	787,563	8	—
1784	99	14,383	360,012	12	5	122,624	7	2	41,348	16	7	523,985	16	2
1785	116	16,064	412,656	15	—	116.433	7	6	58,106	7	8	587,196	10	2
1786	146	21,483	583,052	12	7	176,076	8	5	129,609	1	10	888,738	2	10
1787	137	22,263	401,593	15	8	186,258	16	9	80,403	1	11	668,255	14	4

END OF THE APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

THE
HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF
The British Colonies in the West Indies.

BOOK V.
AGRICULTURE.

CHAP. I.

Sugar cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the West Indies.—Evidence to prove that Columbus himself carried it from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reasoning to demonstrate that it was found growing spontaneously in the West Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and description.—Soils bests adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, described.—Use and advantage of the plough.—Usual method of holing and planting.—Season proper for planting.—Blast.—Manures.—Improvements suggested.

IN treating of the agriculture of the West Indian Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their

their great ſtaple commodity, ſugar;—a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the moſt valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, in monkiſh Latin, into *Zucharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Açucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the eaſt, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. The *ſweet-cane* is mentioned twice in the Old Teſtament *, as an article of merchandize; and there is a paſſage in Dioſcorides which ſeems to imply, that the art of granulating the juice by evaporation was practiſed in his time; for he deſcribes ſugar as having the appearance of ſalt, and of being brittle to the teeth, CHAP. I.

Salis modo coactum eſt; dentibus ut ſal fragile.

Lucan, enumerating the eaſtern auxiliaries of Pompey, deſcribes a people who uſed the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine ſuccos.

LAFITAU conjectures, however, that the plant itſelf was unknown in Chriſtendom, until the time of the Croiſades. Its cultivation, and the method of expreſſing and purifying the juice, as

* Iſaiah, ch. xliii. v. 24. Jeremiah, ch. vi. v. 20.

practiſed

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practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are described by *Albertus Aquensis*, a monkish writer, who observes, that the Christian soldiers in the Holy Land frequently derived refreshment and support, in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes *. It flourished also in the Morea, and in the Islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily, the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary and Cape-de-verd Islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way, at an early period, to Brasil and the West Indies; "producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly-received opinion respecting the history of this valuable production.

* The same author, in his account of the reign of Baldwin, relates, that the Crusaders took eleven camels, laden with sugar, so that it must have been made in considerable quantities.

Herrera

Herrera positively asserts, that the sugar-cane was transplanted into Hispaniola from the Canary Islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon *(a)*; but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the third Book of his first Decad, written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was, at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola. CHAP. I.

THE fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary Islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—" Ad fœtus " procreandos, equas, oves, juvencas, et plura " alia cum sui generis masculis: legumina, tri- " ticum, hordeum, et reliqua ijs similia, non " solùm alimenti, verum etiam seminandi gratiâ, " præfectus apparat: vites et aliarum nostratium " arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad " eam important: nullas enim apud eas insulas " notas arbores invenêre præter pinus palmasque " et eas altissimas, ac miræ duritiei et proceritatis " ac rectitudinis, propter soli ubertatem; atque " etiam ignotos fructus alias plures procreantes.

(a) Vol. i. p. 320.

" Terram

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"Terram aiunt esse terrarum omnium quas am-"biunt sidera, uberrimam." Although in this passage the sugar-cane is not expresly enumerated, it is evident that it was not considered by Colnmbus as a native of the country; for he could not possibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly-discovered country, of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine and the palm. That the cane was then there, appears from a subsequent passage; in which, speaking of such vegetable productions as the Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has these words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question.—" Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id genus, in diem sextum et trigesimum carpserunt. Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aiebant. Hæc hortensia, toto anno habent recentia. *Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccarum extorqueter, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiserunt.*"

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and industry, who maintain that the sugar-cane is a native both of the islands and the

continent of America, within the tropicks. They assert, that it was found growing spontaneously in many parts of the new hemisphere, when first explored by the Spanish invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have considered the question with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion *(b)*, and he quotes, in support of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canes among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose, that they would plant sugar-canes, and put hogs ashore at the same time to destroy them.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they

(b) Tom. III. c. xv. p. 20.

considered

BOOK V.

considered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves, beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, besides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a Treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate *(c)*, we are assured by Jean de Lery, a protestant minister, who was chaplain, in 1556, to the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in situations never visited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepen, and other voyagers, bear testimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Mississippi; and Jean de Laet to its spontaneous production in the Island of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant itself, therefore, but for the

(c) Piso observes, "In provincia Rio de la Plata, Cannas Sacchari sponte enasci, adolescereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chrystalla saccharea æstu solis exsudare, constat."

secret

ſecret of making ſugar from it, that the Weſt Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portugueſe; and theſe to the nations of the eaſt."

SUCH is the reaſoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible; and it is greatly ſtrengthened by recent diſcoveries; the ſugar-cane having been found in many of the iſlands of the Pacifick Ocean, by our late illuſtrious navigator Captain Cook.

IN theſe accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The ſugar-cane might have grown ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the New World; and Columbus, unapprized of the circumſtance, might likewiſe have carried ſome of the plants to Hiſpaniola, and ſuch I believe was the fact. But be this as it may, the induſtry with which the Spaniſh ſettlers applied themſelves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contraſt to the manners of the preſent inhabitants; it appearing by the teſtimony of Oviedo, that no leſs than thirty *ingenios*, or ſugar-mills, were eſtabliſhed on that iſland ſo early as 1535.

THE botanical name of the ſugar-cane is *Arundo Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whoſe edges are finely and ſharply ſerrated. The body of the cane is ſtrong but brittle, and when ripe of a fine ſtraw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a ſoft pithy ſubſtance, which affords a copious ſupply of juice

BOOK V.

juice of a ſweetneſs the leaſt cloying and moſt agreeable in nature. The intermediate diſtance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the ſoil;—in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewiſe upon circumſtances. In ſtrong lands and lands richly manured, I have ſeen ſome that meaſured twelve feet from the ſtole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to ſeven feet, and in very rich lands the ſtole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred ſuckers or ſhoots *(d)*.

(d) The tops of canes ſometimes ſhoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pinnacle, the glumes of which contain a whitiſh duſt, or rather ſeed; yet theſe being ſowed never vegetate, as I have heard, in the Weſt Indian iſlands; a circumſtance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the ſpontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyſſinia and other parts of the Eaſt it is eaſily raiſed from the ſeed. *Vid. Bruce's Travels.* Since the firſt edition of this work was publiſhed, Sir Joſeph Banks has ſatisfied me that there are ſeveral varieties exiſting in the cane with which we are wholly unacquainted in the Weſt Indies. I have ſeen, in his poſſeſſion, a dried ſpecimen that was brought originally from the South Seas, which, as far as can be judged by its preſent appearance, is of a far ſuperior ſort to the ſpecies cultivated in our iſlands. It is not only of greater length in the whole, but the diſtance between the joints is nearly twice as great as in the fineſt canes I ever beheld.

It

CHAP. I.

It may be ſuppoſed that a plant thus rank and ſucculent, requires a ſtrong and deep ſoil to bring it to perfection, and, as far as my own obſervation has extended, I am of opinion that no land can be too rich for that purpoſe.—When bad ſugar is made from fat and fertile ſoils, properly ſituated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to miſmanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very beſt ſoil however that I have ſeen or heard of, for the production of ſugar of the fineſt quality, and in the largeſt proportion, is the aſhy loam of St. Chriſtopher's, of which an account has been given in the hiſtory of that iſland. Next to that, is the ſoil which in Jamaica is called *brick-mold*; not as reſembling a brick in colour, but as containing ſuch a due mixture of clay and ſand, as is ſuppoſed to render it well adapted for the uſe of the kiln. It is a deep, warm and mellow, hazel earth, eaſily worked; and though its ſurface ſoon grows dry after rain, the under ſtratum retains a conſiderable degree of moiſture in the drieſt weather;—with this advantage too, that even in the wetteſt ſeaſon, it ſeldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this ſoil (which are thoſe of the firſt growth) have been known in very fine ſeaſons to yield two tons and a half of ſugar *per* acre (*e*). After this, may be reckoned the black mold,

(*e*) This ſpecies of ſoil abounds very generally in the French part of Hiſpaniola—which gives that noble iſland ſo great

BOOK V.

mold, of ſeveral varieties. The beſt is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and ſome other of the Windward Iſlands; but there is a ſpecies of this mold in Jamaica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limeſtone and flint, on a ſubſtratum of ſoapy marle. Black mold on clay is more common, but as the mold is generally ſhallow, and the clay ſtiff and retentive of water, this laſt ſort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulverized and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be ſaid to be inexhauſtible. It were endleſs to attempt a minute deſcription of all the other ſoils which are found in theſe iſlands. There is however a peculiar ſort of land on the north ſide of Jamaica, chiefly in the pariſh of Trelawney, that cannot be paſſed over unnoticed, not only on account of its ſcarcity, but its value; few ſoils producing finer ſugars, or ſuch (I have been told by ſugar refiners) *as anſwer ſo well in the pan* — an expreſſion, ſignifying, as I underſtand it, a greater return of refined ſugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red colour; the ſhades of which however vary

great a ſuperiority over moſt of our own ſugar colonies. In Jamaica, it is confined to a few pariſhes only, and in thoſe pariſhes to particular ſpots. In ſome places this ſort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumſtance, if the ſeaſons are favourable, is of no great diſadvantage.

CHAP. I.

vary confiderably, from a deep chocolate to a rich fcarlet; in fome places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when firft turned up, for a gloffy or fhining furface, and if wetted, ftains the fingers like paint. I have felected fpecimens which are hardly diftinguifhable by the eye or the touch, from the fubftance called gamboge. Earths of various fhades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the Weft Indies, but in none of them are obferved the fame gloffy appearance and cohefion as in the foil in queftion, which appears to me to confift of a native earth or pure loam with a mixture of clay and fand. It is eafily worked, and at the fame time fo tenacious, that a pond dug in this foil in a proper fituation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the ftiffeft clay. It is remarkable, however, that the fame degree of ploughing or pulverization which is abfolutely neceffary to render ftiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unneceffary, but hurtful;—for though this foil is deep, it is at the fame time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore too much expofure to the fcorching influence of a tropical fun, deftroys its fertility, the fyftem of hufbandry on fugar plantations, in which this foil abounds, is to depend chiefly on what are called *ratoon*

 canes.

BOOK V.

canes *(f)*. Ratoons are the ſprouts or ſuckers that ſpring from the roots, or ſtoles of the canes that have been previouſly cut for ſugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes of the firſt growth, as hath been obſerved, are called plant-canes. They are the immediate produce of the original plants or gems placed in the ground, and require from fifteen to ſeventeen months to bring them to maturity. The firſt yearly returns from their roots are called *firſt ratoons*; the ſecond year's growth, *ſecond ratoons*; and ſo on, according to their age. In moſt parts of the Weſt Indies it is uſual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane land (commonly one-third) in annual ſucceſſion. This, in the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe, is frequently attended with great and exceſſive labour to the negroes, which is ſaved altogether by the ſyſtem we are treating of. By the latter method, the planter, inſtead of ſtocking up his ratoons, and holing and planting the land anew, ſuffers the ſtoles to continue in the ground, and contents himſelf, as his cane fields become thin and impoveriſhed, by ſupplying the vacant ſpaces with freſh plants. By theſe means, and the aid of manure, the produce of ſugar *per* acre, if not

(f) So called from being *rejettons* or ſprouts, *rej'ttons*, *re't-tons*, *rattons*; or more probably from a corrupt pronunciation of the Spaniſh word *brotónes*, which has the ſame ſignification.

apparently

apparently equal to that from the beſt plant-canes in other ſoils, gives perhaps in the long-run full as great returns to the owner; conſidering the relative proportion of the labour and expence attending the different ſyſtems.—The common yielding of this land, on an average, is ſeven hogſheads of ſixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut annually.

In the cultivation of other lands (in Jamaica eſpecially) the plough has been introduced of late years, and in ſome few caſes to great advantage; but it is not every ſoil or ſituation that will admit the uſe of the plough; ſome lands being much too ſtoney, and others too ſteep; and I am ſorry I have occaſion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is uſed, which would exhauſt the fineſt lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then croſs ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the ſame lands from year to year, or at leaſt every other year, without affording manure: accordingly, it is found that this method is utterly deſtructive of the ratoon, or ſecond growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed aſtoniſhing that any planter of common reading or obſervation, ſhould be paſſive under ſo pernicious a ſyſtem. Some gentlemen however of late manage better: their practice is to break up ſtiff and clayey land, by one or two ploughings,

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early in the ſpring, and give it a ſummer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more eaſily worked, it is holed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which ſhall be preſently deſcribed. But in truth, the only advantageous ſyſtem of ploughing in the Weſt Indies, is to confine it to the ſimple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and diſpatch by the plough than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the caſe of ſtiff and dry ſoils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all eſtimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this ſubject I ſpeak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greateſt part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and ſufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys, and eight oxen, with the common ſingle-wheeled plough. The ploughſhare indeed is ſomewhat wider than uſual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the ſimpleſt poſſible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench ſeven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom. A ſpace of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mould being thrown by the ſhare, the

banks

banks are properly formed, and the holing is complete. Thus the land is not exhaufted by being too much expofed to the fun; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great eafe, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be defcribed.

The ufual mode of holing by manual labour is this:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is divided into feveral plats of certain dimenfions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the fpaces between each plat or divifion are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting. Each plat is then fubdivided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into fmall fquares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the fquares are a foot larger; but this circumftance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the firft line, one negro to a fquare, and directed to dig out with their hoes the feveral fquares, commonly to the depth of five or fix inches. The mould which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower fide, the excavation or cane-hole feldom exceeds fifteen inches in width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as

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before. Thus the ſeveral ſquares between each line are formed into a trench of much the ſame dimenſions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from ſixty to eighty of theſe holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previouſly ploughed and lain fallow, the ſame negro will dig nearly double the number in the ſame time (*f*).

THE cane-holes or trench being now completed, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings ſelected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for ſugar (each cutting containing five or ſix gems) two of them are ſufficient for a cane-hole of the dimenſions deſcribed (*g*). Theſe, being

(*f*) As the negroes work at this buſineſs very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily ſtrength, it is ſometimes the practiçe to put two negroes to a ſingle ſquare; but if the land has not had the previous aſſiſtance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of 50 or 60 able negroes for 20 days to hole 20 acres. It is reckoned a tolerable day's work for 40 negroes to hole an acre in the courſe of a day. In Jamaica, ſome gentlemen, to eaſe their own ſlaves, have this laborious part of the planting buſineſs performed by job work. The uſual price for holing and planting is from eight to ten pounds currency *per* acre. The coſt of falling and clearing heavy wood land is commonly as much more.

(*g*) It is a maxim with ſome people te plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich; but it is a maxim founded in error. They ſuppoſe that the richer the ſoil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they forget

being placed longitudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered with mould about two inches deep; the reſt of the bank being intended for future uſe. In twelve or fourteen days the young ſprouts begin to appear, and, as ſoon as they riſe a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furniſhed with an addition of mould from the banks. This is uſually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and the ſpaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Frequent cleanings, CHAP. I.

forget that the plant itſelf will, in ſuch ſoils, put forth ſhoots in abundance; moſt of which, *if the lands are not over planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mould the ſhoots choke and deſtroy each other. On the other hand, in ſoils where the canes will not ſtock (viz. put out freſh ſhoots) the overſeer muſt ſupply the greater number of plants in the firſt inſtance, or the produce will be little or nothing. To what has been ſaid in the text concerning the method of holing, it may not be improper to add the following particulars:—A ſquare acre contains 43,560 feet; therefore, to know the exact number of holes which an acre will admit, the rule is, to multiply the length of each hole by the breadth, as thus: Suppoſe you line four feet one way, and three feet the other, then *four* multiplied by *three*, makes twelve ſquare feet, and 43,560 divided by 12, gives 3,630 holes. Theſe are large holes, and if the land is dry and ſtiff, an able negro will not be able to dig more than 60 ſuch in his day's work. It will require, therefore, in ſuch land, juſt 60 negroes to hole an acre in a day. The richer the land is, the wider you line, of courſe the fewer holes to an acre; four feet by four feet gives 2,722 holes.

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ings, while the canes are young, are indeed ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that no other merit in an overſeer can compenſate for the want of attention in this particular.—A careful manager will remove at the ſame time, all the lateral ſhoots or ſuckers that ſpring up after the canes begin to joint, as they ſeldom come to maturity, and draw nouriſhment from the original plants.

THE propereſt ſeaſon, generally ſpeaking, for planting, is unqueſtionably in the interval between Auguſt and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal ſeaſons, the young canes become ſufficiently luxuriant to ſhade the ground before the dry weather ſets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moiſt. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the beginning of the ſecond year, ſo as to enable the overſeer or manager to finiſh his crop (except as to the few canes which are reſerved to furniſh cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November loſe the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens that dry weather in the beginning of the enſuing year retards their vegetation, until the vernal ſeaſons, or May rains, ſet in; when they ſprout both at the roots and the joints; ſo that by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with unripe ſuckers, inſtead of ſugar-canes. A January plant, however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very

late

late in the ſpring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, ſeldom anſwer expectation; for they generally come in unſeaſonably, and throw the enſuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal ſeaſons ſet in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occaſioned them to ſpring afreſh; in either caſe the effect is the ſame: the juice is unconcocted, and all the ſap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nouriſhment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this; that the canes become rank and top heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The obſervation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is juſt; and on this account, ſome gentlemen have introduced the following ſyſtem: They plant in Auguſt and September, clean the young ſprouts, and give them mould occaſionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants cloſe to the ground with knives, and level the bank; ſpreading the remainder of the mould over the roots; which ſoon afterwards ſend out a number of vigorous and luxuriant ſhoots all of an equal growth. It is alledged, that by this means the cane is not too rank in the ſtormy months, and nevertheleſs comes to perfection in good time the ſucceeding ſpring.

On

On the whole, it is a ſtriking and juſt remark of Colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the ſyſtem of planting, than to make ſugar, or to plant canes, in improper ſeaſons of the year; for by miſmanagement of this kind every ſucceeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he obſerves, ought to be conſidered as a well-conſtructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end propoſed; but if any one part runs too faſt, or too ſlow, in proportion to the reſt, the main purpoſe is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuſe the want of hands or cattle; becauſe theſe wants muſt either be ſupplied, or the planter muſt contract his views, and proportion them to his ability; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual diſorder, and terminate in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable ſoils, nor ſeaſonable weather, will at all times exempt the planter from misfortunes. The ſugar-cane is ſubject to a diſeaſe which no foreſight can obviate, and for which human wiſdom has hitherto, I fear, attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blaſt*; it is the *aphis* of Linnæus, and is diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, the black and the yellow; of which

3 the

CHAP. I.

the latter is the moſt deſtructive. It conſiſts of myriads of little inſects, inviſible to the naked eye, whoſe proper food is the juice of the cane; in ſearch of which they wound the tender blades, and conſequently deſtroy the veſſels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is checked, until it withers or dies in proportion to the degree of the ravage *(h)*.

HITHERTO, I have ſaid nothing of a very important branch in the ſugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The neceſſity of giving even the beſt ſoil occaſional aſſiſtance is univerſally admitted, and the uſual way of doing it in the Weſt Indies is now to be deſcribed.

The manure generally uſed is a compoſt formed,

1ſt. OF the coal and vegetable aſhes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and ſtill-houſes.

2dly. FECULENCES diſcharged from the ſtill-houſe, mixed up with rubbiſh of buildings, white-lime, &c.

3dly. REFUSE, or field-traſh, (i. e.) the de-

(h) In ſome of the Windward Iſlands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be deſtroyed alſo by a ſpecies of grub called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at leaſt to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having ſeen it, I can give no certain deſcription of it. I conceive the inſect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fuſca* of Sloane. In Tobago they have another deſtructive inſect called the *Jumper Fly*.

cayed

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cayed leaves and ſtems of the canes; ſo called in contradiſtinction to cane-traſh, reſerved for fuel, and hereafter to be deſcribed.

4thly. Dung, obtained from the horſe and mule ſtables, and from moveable pens, or ſmall incloſures made by poſts and rails, occaſionally ſhifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mould, collected from *gullies*, and other waſte places, and thrown into the cattle-*pens*.

The firſt, (i. e.) *aſhes*, is commonly ſuppoſed to be a manure of itſelf, well adapted for cold and ſtiff clays; and in ſome parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed, in cart loads, to the land where it is intended to be uſed. It is left there (or in ſome ſpot adjoining) in large heaps, until the land is holed; after which a baſket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mould at the time the plants are put into the ground. It may be doubted, however, whether aſhes, applied in this manner, are of much advantage: I have been told, that if the land is opened five years afterwards, they will be found undiſſolved *(k)*. At other times, wain loads of

(k) On wet lands, not eaſily trenched, aſhes may be uſeful in abſorbing ſuperfluous moiſture, and may therefore ſometimes prove a good top dreſſing.

the

the compoſt, or dunghill before-mentioned, are carried out and uſed in nearly the ſame manner as the aſhes.

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BUT the chief dependence of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occaſional incloſures before deſcribed; not ſo much for the quantity of dung collected by means of thoſe incloſures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle (the beſt of all manures), and the labour which is ſaved by this ſyſtem. I believe, indeed, there are a great many overſeers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of ſhifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the ſpot intended for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or holed *(l)*.

WHAT

(l) This, however, is by no means ſufficient on plantations that have been much worn and exhauſted by cultivation, and perhaps there is no branch in the planting buſineſs wherein attention and ſyſtematick arrangement, as ſaving both time and labour, are more neceſſary than in collecting and preparing large quantities of dung from the ſources and materials before deſcribed. In ſpreading the manure thus collected, the common allowance in the Windward Iſlands, (where this part of huſbandry is beſt underſtood) is a ſquare foot of dung to each cane-hole; ſo that by knowing the number of holes in an acre of land, and the number of ſquare feet in a dung-heap, the manure may be proportioned to the ground. Nothing is more eaſy than to aſcertain the number of ſquare feet in a dung-heap. Multiply the length by the breadth, and the produce by the height. Thus, 30 feet, the length, multiplied by 30 feet, the breadth, gives 900 feet, which

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WHAT has hitherto been ſaid, however, relates ſolely to the method of preparing lands for plant-canes. Thoſe who truſt chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as neceſſary to give their cane-fields attention and aſſiſtance from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of Colonel Martin, ſo ſoon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off, by a ſharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-ſtools, *three inches below the ſurface of the ſoil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mould; by which means, he thinks that all the ſprouts riſing from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorouſly than otherwiſe. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the ſugar iſlands. It is the practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to ſpread baſkets full of dung round the ſtools, ſo ſoon after the canes have been cut as circumſtances will admit, and the ground has been refreſhed by rains: In dry and ſcorching weather it would be labour loſt. The young ſprouts are, at the ſame time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is ſpread round them, being covered with cane-traſh that its virtues may not be exhaled by the ſun, is found at the end of three

which being again multiplied by four feet (the height) gives 3,600 feet, the full contents. This explanation is added for the uſe of the plain practical planter, who perhaps has had no great opportunity of ſtudying arithmetical calculation.

three or four months, to be ſoaked into and incorporated with the mould. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the ſpaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requiſite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *traſhing* ratoons (i. e.) ſtripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and juſtly exploded.

Such is the general ſyſtem of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told, that more attention is paid to this branch of huſbandry, in ſome of the iſlands to Windward; but I ſuſpect that there is, in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of a judicious rotation of crops, and artificial aſſiſtance. Why, for inſtance, are not the manures of lime and ſea-ſand, which abound in theſe iſlands, and have been found ſo exceedingly beneficial in Great Britain, brought into uſe? Limeſtone alone, even without burning, (the expence of which might perhaps be an objection) has been found to anſwer in cold, heavy, and moiſt lands; no other trouble being requiſite than merely to ſpread it over the ground, and break it into ſmall pieces by ſledge-hammers. Of this, the quantities are inexhauſtible. Marle, is another manure of vaſt and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the pooreſt land, opens the ſtiffeſt, and

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and ſweetens and corrects the moſt rank. Lands have been raiſed by the uſe of this manure, from two ſhillings per acre, to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is no country under the ſun, wherein a ſoft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the queſtion, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better anſwer, I believe, can be given, than that the planters in general have no leiſure for experiments, and that it is difficult to make agents and ſervants (who have every thing to riſk and nothing to gain) walk out of the ſure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this obſervation.

But it is not my province to propoſe ſyſtems, but to record facts;—to deſcribe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be*; and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field into the boiling-houſe, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

CHAP. II.

Crop-time the ſeaſon of health and feſtivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Proceſs for obtaining raw or muſcovado ſugar.—Melaſſes, and its diſpoſal.—Proceſs of making clayed ſugar.—Of rum.—Still-houſes and ſtills.—Ciſterns, and their ingredients.—Windward Iſland proceſs.—Jamaica method of double diſtillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of ſweets, aſcertained and ſtated.

THE time of crop in the ſugar iſlands, is the ſeaſon of gladneſs and feſtivity to man and beaſt. So palatable, ſalutary, and nouriſhing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it, derives health and vigour from its uſe. The meagre and ſickly among the negroes exhibit a ſurpriſing alteration in a few weeks after the mill is ſet in action. The labouring horſes, oxen, and mules, though almoſt conſtantly at work during this ſeaſon, yet, being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and ſome of the ſcummings from the boiling-houſe, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry

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fatten on the refuſe. In ſhort, on a well-regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is ſuch an appearance during crop-time of health, plenty and buſy cheerfulneſs, as to ſoften, in a great meaſure, the hardſhips of ſlavery, and induce a ſpectator to hope, when the miſeries of life are repreſented as inſupportable, that they are ſometimes exaggerated through the medium of fancy *(a)*.

THE

(a) "He" (ſays honeſt old Slare the phyſician) "that "undertakes to argue againſt *ſweets* in general, takes upon "him a very difficult taſk, for nature ſeems to have recom-"mended this taſte to all ſorts of creatures; the birds of the "air, the beaſts of the field, many reptiles and flies ſeem to "be pleaſed and delighted with the ſpecifick reliſh of all "ſweets, and to diſtaſte its contrary. Now the ſugar-cane, "or ſugar, I hold for the top and higheſt ſtandard of vege-"table ſweets." Sugar is obtainable in ſome degree from moſt vegetables, and Dr. Ruſh of Philidelphia, among the many advantages attending the uſe of it in diet, enumerates the following:

"1ſt. Sugar affords the greateſt quantity of nouriſhment in a given quantity of matter of any ſubſtance in nature. Uſed alone, it has fattened horſes and cattle in St. Domingo for a period of ſeveral months, during the time that the exportation of ſugar and the importation of grain were ſuſpended, from the want of ſhips.

"2dly. The plentiful uſe of ſugar in diet is one of the beſt preventatives that ever has been diſcovered of the diſeaſes which are produced by worms. Nature ſeems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children; as if it were on purpoſe to defend them from thoſe diſeaſes.

"3dly. The

CHAP. II.

THE great obſtacle at this ſeaſon to the progreſs of ſuch of the planters as are not happily furniſhed with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or inſufficiency of their mills; for though a ſugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very ſimple contrivance, great force is nevertheleſs requiſite to make it overcome the reſiſtance which it neceſſarily meets with. It conſiſts principally of three

" 3dly. The plague has never been known in any country where ſugar compoſes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants."

N. B. Dr. Ruſh quotes this laſt obſervation from Sir John Pringle, and adds his own opinion, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been leſſened by the uſe of ſugar.

" 4thly. In diſorders of the breaſt, ſugar is the baſis of many agreeable remedies; and it is uſeful in weakneſſes and acrid defluxions upon other parts of the body. The celebrated Dr. Franklin had taken large quantities of *black-berry jam* for the pain of the ſtone, and found benefit from it, but diſcovered, at length, that the medicinal part of the jam reſided wholly in the ſugar. From half a pint of a ſyrup prepared by boiling brown ſugar in water, and taken juſt before he went to bed, he declared that he often found the ſame relief that he did from a doſe of opium.

" It has been ſaid that ſugar injures the teeth, but this opinion does not deſerve a ſerious reflection." Amer. Philoſ. Tranſ. vol. 3.

Mr. Hughes, the hiſtorian of Barbadoes, obſerves, that there is a ſaponaceous quality in cane-juice capable of reſolving viſcid concretions, to which he attributes, in a great meaſure, the ſurpriſing quick recovery of thoſe ſickly negroes who drink freely of it.

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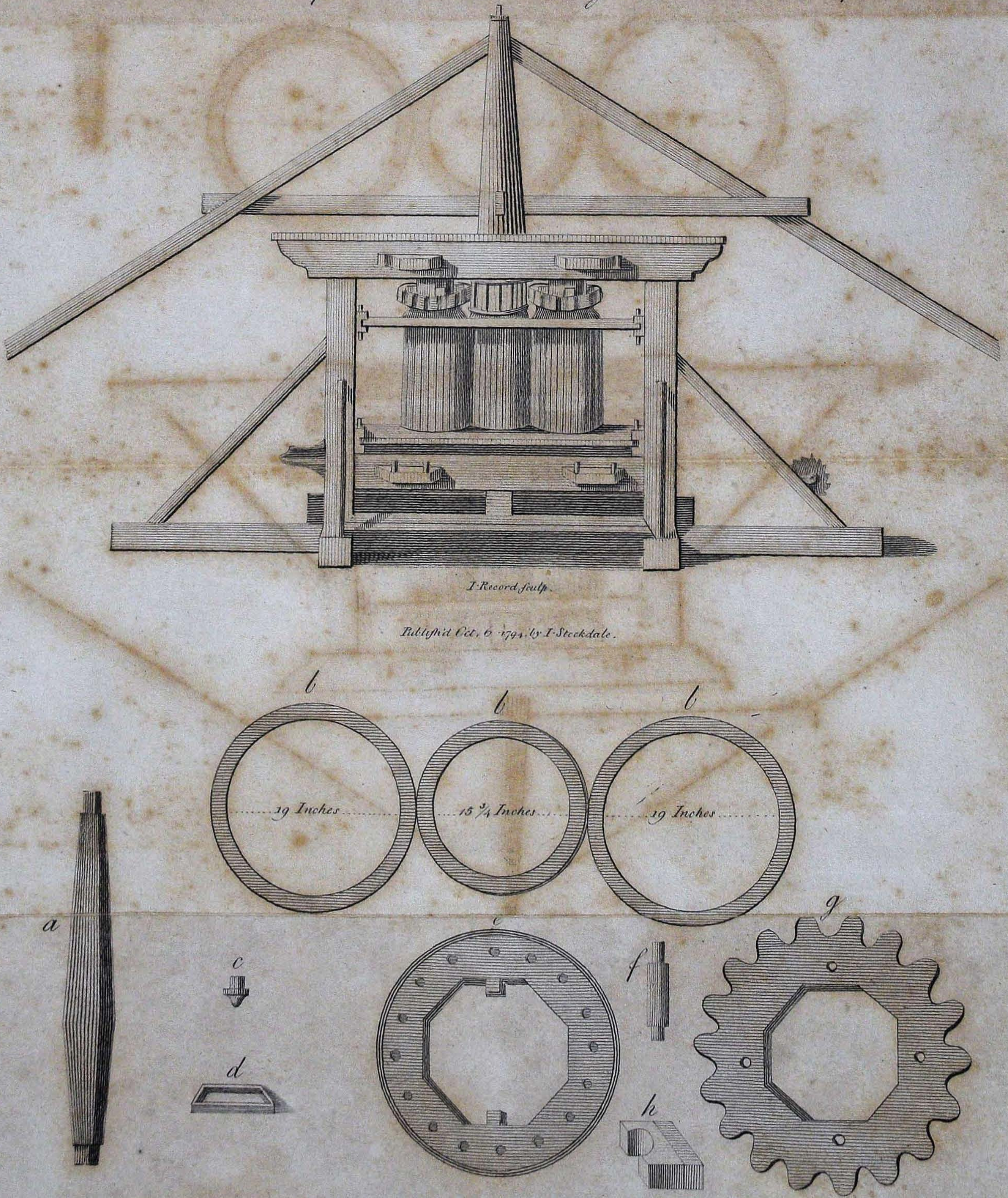
upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes (being previously cut short, and tied into bundles) are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or screen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the second and third; an operation which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a vessel called the Receiver. The refuse, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-trash*, in contradistinction to field-trash, described in the preceding chapter) serves for fuel to boil the liquor *(b)*.

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains eight

(b) Since the first edition of this work was published, I have obtained the elevation and plan of a sugar-mill (several of which have been erected within these few years in Jamaica) after a model originally designed by Edward Woollery, Esq. surveyor of the publick works in that island; and I now present my readers with an engraving thereof.—The relative proportions in the size of the different rollers or cylinders, vary from Mr. Woollery's first design; but the great improvement,

Elevation & Plan of an improved SUGAR MILL, by Edward Woollery Esq.r of Jamaica.



a. the Side roller gudgeon. b the rollers or cylinders. c pivot to each roller, called the capoose. d the stop on which the capoose turns. e the lantern wheel. f the trundle or wallower of which there are sixteen in the lantern wheel. g cog or spur wheel, to each of the side rollers. h the side brass to the rollers.

eight parts of pure water, one part of ſugar, and one part made of groſs oil and mucilaginous gum, with a portion of eſſential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium; for ſome juice has been ſo rich as to make a hogſhead of ſugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and ſome ſo watery as to require more than double that quantity.—By a hogſhead I mean ſixteen hundred weight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum; ſo that an exact analyſis of any one quantity of juice, would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity *(c)*. CHAP. II.

THE

ment, the addition to the middle roller of a lantern-wheel, with trundles or wallowers, was purely his own. Theſe act as ſo many friction-wheels, and their utility and importance are beſt demonſtrated by their effect. A cattle or mule-mill on the old model was thought to perform exceedingly well if it paſſed ſufficient canes in an hour to yield from 300 to 350 gallons of juice.—The common return of a mill on Mr. Woollery's conſtruction is from 4 to 500 gallons.—I have authority to ſay, that one of theſe mills in particular, which is worked with ten mules, produces hourly 500 gallons; at this rate, allowing four hours out of the twenty-four for loſs of time, the return *per diem* is 10,000 gallons; being equal to 36 hogſheads of ſugar of 16 cwt. for every week during the crop, excluſive of Sundays.—Few water-mills can exceed this. The iron-work of the mill in queſtion, as well as of moſt of thoſe which have been made on Mr. Woollery's model, was prepared at the foundery of Mr. Thomas Goulding, of the Bank Side, Southwark, to whom I owe it in juſtice to declare, that his work is executed with ſuch truth and accuracy, as reflect the higheſt credit on his manufactory.

(c) A pound of ſugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is

reckoned

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The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice; befides which, the following matters are ufually contained in it. Some of the bands or green tops, which ferve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yield a raw acid juice exceedingly dif-pofed to ferment, and render the whole liquor four. Some pieces of the trafh or ligneous part of the cane; fome dirt; and laftly, a fubftance of fome importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the cruft.* The cruft is a thin black coat of matter that furrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint up-wards, till the upper part between the joints ap-pears entirely free from it, and refumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be fcaled off by the point of a penknife. It is a fine black powder, that mixes with the clammy exudations perfpired from the cane, and is moft probably produced by *animalcula.* As the fairnefs of the fugar is one of the marks of its goodnefs, a fmall quantity of fuch a fubftance muft con-fiderably prejudice the commodity.

The procefs for obtaining the fugar is thus conducted. The juice or liquor runs from the receiver to the boiling-houfe, along a wooden

reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analyfed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and fpongy gloffy charcoal.

gutter

gutter lined with lead. In the boiling-houſe it is received (according to the modern improved ſyſtem which almoſt univerſally prevails in Jamaica) into one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clarifiers. Of theſe, there are commonly three; and their dimenſions are generally determined by the power of ſupplying them with liquor. There are water-mills that will grind with great eaſe canes ſufficient for thirty hogſheads of ſugar in a week. On plantations thus happily provided, the means of quick boiling are indiſpenſibly requiſite, or the cane-liquor will unavoidably become tainted before it can be expoſed to the fire. The pureſt cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the receiver without fermenting *(d)*. Clarifiers, therefore, are ſometimes ſeen of one thouſand gallons each. But as powers of the extent deſcribed are uncommon, I ſhall rather confine myſelf to ſuch properties as fall

(d) As cane-juice is ſo very liable to ferment, it is neceſſary alſo that the canes ſhould be ground as ſoon as poſſible after they are cut, and great care taken to throw aſide thoſe which are tainted, which may afterward be ground for the ſtill-houſe.

Perhaps it is not an extravagant hope that the time will come, when the ſalt of the cane which we call ſugar, will be made to chryſtallize, by the action of fire on the juice of the cane, in as pure and tranſparent a form, as the ſalt of ſea-water is frequently made to do in theſe climates, by the action of the ſun's rays. The brown colour of muſcovado ſugar, ſeems

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fall within the reach of daily obſervation; to plantations, for inſtance, that make on a medium during crop-time, from fifteen to twenty hogſheads of ſugar a week. On ſuch eſtates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred gallons each, are ſufficient. With pans of this ſize, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leiſure to cleanſe the veſſels every time they are uſed. Each clarifier is provided either with a ſyphon or cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a ſeparate fire, each chimney having an iron ſlider, which being ſhut, the fire goes out for want of air. Theſe circumſtances are indiſpenſible, and the advantages of them will preſently be ſhewn *(e)*.

THE

ſeems to me to be derived chiefly from the effect of fire, operating on the gummy parts or mucilage of the raw juice; to deſtroy or ſeparate which, in the firſt clarifier, is the great deſideratum. If this could be accompliſhed, the more watery particles might afterward be evaporated without injuring the colour of the eſſential ſalt, which would then ſtrike into chryſtals nearly tranſparent.

(e) The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling houſe. If at one end, the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and ſeveral boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The teache is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and teache diminiſh in ſize from the firſt to the laſt. Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is uſually a ſet of three boilers of each ſide, which conſtitute in effect a double boiling-houſe. On very large eſtates this arrangement

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The ſtream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with freſh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Briſtol white-lime in powder, is ſtirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the ſuperabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in ſugar-making. This is generally effected by the *Alkali* or lime; part of which, at the ſame time, becomes the baſis of the ſugar. The quantity neceſſary for this purpoſe, muſt of courſe vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor.—Some planters allow a pint of Briſtol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large. The lime is perceptible in the ſugar both to the ſmell and taſte, and precipitates in the copper pans a black inſoluble calx, which ſcorches the bottom of the veſſels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive therefore that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that leſs of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconveniency attending the uſe of dry lime, Mr. Bouſie's method of diſſolving it in boiling water,

ment is found uſeful and neceſſary. The objection to ſo great a number is the expence of fuel, to obviate which in ſome degree, the three boilers on each ſide of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

previous

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previous to mixing it with the cane-juice, appears to me to be highly judicious *(f)*.

As the fire encreafes in force, and the liquor grows hot, a fcum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane, with fome of the oil, and fuch impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now fuffered gradually to encreafe, until it rifes

(f) This gentleman (Mr. Boufie) to whom the affembly of Jamaica gave £. 1,000 for his improvements in the art of fugar-boiling, in a paper diftributed by him among the members, recommends the ufe of a vegetable *alkali*, or afhes of wood calcinated, fuch as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, cafhew, or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards fenfible that fugar formed on the bafis of fixed alkaline falts never ftands the fea, unlefs fome earth is joined with the falts. Such earth as approaches neareft to that which is the bafis of allum, would perhaps be moft proper. As fugar on a vegetable alkaline bafis, is generally as much fuperior in colour, as that on lime is in grain; how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline falts and lime, might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline falts alone, is an enquiry that ought to be purfued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other *alkali* would be hurtful, as may be fhewn by adding a few grains of lime or *alkali* to a clear folution of refined fugar: a precipitation will enfue. In fome parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Boufie made very good fugar without a particle of temper. I have faid, that too much temper is perceptible in the fugar, both to the fmell and tafte; it might be added, *and alfo to the fight*. It tinges the liquor firft yellow, and if in excefs turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewife prevents the melaffes from feparating from the fugar when it is potted or put into the hogfhead.

to

to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor muſt by no means be ſuffered to boil: it is known to be ſufficiently heated when the ſcum begins to riſe into bliſters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguiſhed; after which, the liquor is ſuffered to remain a full hour, if circumſtances will admit, undiſturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and riſe in the ſcum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a ſyphon, which draws up a pure defecated ſtream through the ſcum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either caſe the ſcum ſinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almoſt, if not perfectly, tranſparent *(g.)*

THE advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, inſtead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practiſed formerly, is viſible to the

(g) The merit of introducing into Jamaica the clarifiers at preſent in uſe, with ſyphons and dampers, was claimed by Mr. Samuel Sainthill, and an excluſive patent, to ſecure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the aſſembly.

moſt

BOOK V.

moft inattentive obferver. The labour which it faves in fcumming is wonderful. Neither can fcumming properly cleanfe the fubject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it circulates with fuch rapidity, as to carry down again the very impurities that had come up to the furface, and with a lefs violent heat would have ftaid there.

In the grand, or evaporating, copper, which fhould be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is fuffered to boil; and as the fcum rifes, it is continually taken off by large fcummers, until the liquor grows finer and fomewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the fcumming and evaporation, the fubject is fufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or fecond copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the fecond copper the boiling and fcumming are continued; and if the fubject is not fo clean as is expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but alfo to dilute the liquor, which fometimes thickens too faft to permit the feculencies to run together and rife in the fcum. Liquor is faid to have a good appearance in the fecond copper, when the froth in boiling arifes in large bubbles, and is but little difcoloured. When, from

from ſuch ſcumming and evaporation, the liquor is again ſufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and ſo on to the laſt copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement ſuppoſes four boilers or coppers, excluſive of the three clarifiers. CHAP. II.

In the teache the ſubject is ſtill further evaporated, till it is judged ſufficiently boiled to be remo ed from the fire. This operation is uſually called *ſtriking*; i. e. lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The cooler, of which there are commonly ſix, is a ſhallow wooden veſſel, about eleven inches deep, ſeven feet in length, ar d from five to ſix feet wide. A cooler of this ſize holds a hogſhead of ſugar. Here the ſugar grains; i. e. as it cools, it runs into a coarſe irregular maſs of ſemiformed cryſtals, ſeparating itſelf from the melaſſes. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-houſe, where the melaſſes drains from it *(h)*.

But, before we follow it into the curing-houſe, it may be proper to notice the rule for

(h) It may be proper in this place to obſerve, that, in order to obtain a large-grained ſugar, it muſt be ſuffered to cool *ſlowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too ſhallow, the grain is injured in a ſurpriſing manner. Any perſon may be convinced of this, by pouring ſome of the hot ſyrup, when fit for ſtriking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very ſmall grain.

judging

judging when the ſubject is ſufficiently evaporated for *ſtriking*, or become fit for being laded from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers gueſs ſolely by the eye (which by long habit they do with great accuracy) judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice moſt in uſe is to judge by what is called *the touch*; i. e. taking up with the thumb a ſmall portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and, as the heat diminiſhes, drawing with the forefinger the liquid into a thread. This thread will ſuddenly break, and ſhrink from the thumb to the ſuſpended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or leſs boiled. The proper boiling height for ſtrong muſcovado ſugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furniſh any degree of ſkill in a matter depending wholly on conſtant practice *(i)*.

I NOW

(i) It is probable that from this practice of trying by the *touch (tactio)* the veſſel called the teache derives its name. A method more certain and ſcientifick was recommended ſome years ago to the publick, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Eſquire, Barriſter at Law, in the Iſland of Jamaica, in a Treatiſe publiſhed by him, in 1775, intituled, *An Eſſay on the Art of making Muſcovado Sugar.* It is as follows:—" Provide a ſmall thin pane of clear crown glaſs, ſet " in a frame, which I would call a *tryer*; on this drop two or " three

CHAP. II.

I NOW return to the curing-houſe, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious melaſſes ciſtern, the ſides of which are ſloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this ciſtern there is a frame of maſſy joiſt-work without boarding. On the joiſts of this frame, empty hogſheads, without headings, are ranged. In the bottoms of theſe hogſheads eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which the ſtalk of a plantain leaf is thruſt, ſix or eight inches below

"three drops of the ſubject, one on the other, and carry your "tryer out of the boiling-houſe into the air. Obſerve your "ſubject, and more particularly whether it grains freely, and "whether a ſmall edge of melaſſes ſeparates at the bottom. "I am well ſatisfied that a little experience will enable you to "judge what appearance the whole ſkip will put on, *when* "*cold*, by this ſpecimen, which is alſo *cold*. This method is "uſed by chemiſts, to try evaporated ſolutions of all other "ſalts, it may ſeem, therefore, ſomewhat ſtrange, it has not "been long adopted in the boiling-houſe."—I cannot mention Mr. Baker's Treatiſe, without obſerving, that I am conſiderably indebted to it in the courſe of this chapter, having adopted (with ſome ſmall variation, founded on late improvements) his account of the proceſs of boiling ſugar. But the inhabitants of the ſugar iſlands are under ſtill greater obligations to Mr. Baker;—for it appears to me, that the preſent improved ſyſtem of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of veſſels hung to ſeparate fires, and provided with dampers to prevent ebullition, was firſt ſuggeſted to Mr. Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatiſe in queſtion; a performance that, for uſeful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and compoſition, would have done honour to the firſt writer of the age.

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the joifts, and is long enough to ftand upright above the top of the hogfhead. Into thefe hogfheads the mafs from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the melaffes drains through the fpungy ftalk and drops into the ciftern, from whence it is occafionally taken for diftillation. The fugar in about three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then faid to be cured, and the procefs is finifhed (*k*).

SUGAR, thus obtained, is called *mufcovado*, and is the raw material from whence the Britifh fugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another fort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domeftick purpofes, and was generally known by the name of Lifbon fugar. It is fair, but of a foft texture, and in the Weft Indies is called *clayed* fugar; the procefs is conducted as follows:—

A QUANTITY of fugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes*, with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the melaffes to drain through, but which at firft is clofed with a plug. When the fugar in thefe pots is cool, and become a fixed body, which is difcoverable by the middle of the top falling in (generally about twelve hours from the

(*k*) The curing-houfe fhould be clofe and warm—as warmth contributes to free the fugar from the melaffes.

firft

firſt potting of the hot ſugar) the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the ſyrup or melaſſes that drains from it. In this ſtate it is left as long as the melaſſes continues to drop, which it will do from twelve to twenty-four hours, when a ſtratum of clay is ſpread on the ſugar, and moiſtened with water, which oozing imperceptibly through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the melaſſes, conſequently more of it comes away than from ſugar cured in the hogſhead, and the ſugar of courſe becomes ſo much the whiter and purer. The proceſs, according to Sloane, was firſt diſcovered in Braſil, by accident; "a hen," ſays he, "having her feet dirty, going over a pot "of ſugar, it was found under her tread to be "whiter than elſewhere." The reaſon aſſigned why this proceſs is not univerſally adopted in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the melaſſes, diſſolves and carries with it ſo much of the ſugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwiſe, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the neceſſary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the ſyſtem *(l)*.

CHAP. II.

OF

(l) The loſs in weight by claying is about *one third*; thus a pot of 60 lbs. is reduced to 40 lbs. but if the melaſſes which is

OF RUM.

Having now furnifhed the reader with the beft account I am able to give of the art of making fugar from the cane-juice, I fhall proceed to a fubfequent procefs, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it, by fermentation and diftillation, one of the pureft, moft fragrant, and falutary fpirits in the world; a procefs of far greater curiofity than the former, and of almoft equal importance in point of value, confidering that the fpirit procured by its means, is obtained from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant.

The ftill-houfes on the fugar-plantations in the Britifh Weft Indies, vary greatly in point of fize and expence, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a fubftantial manner of ftone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houfes together. Large ftills, by which I mean fuch as

is drawn off in this practice be reboiled, it will give near 40 *per cent.* of fugar; fo that the real lofs is little more than one-fixth; but the diftillery in that cafe will fuffer for want of the melaffes, and on the whole I believe that the ufage of the Englifh planters in fhipping *Mufcovado* fugar, and diftilling the melaffes, is more generally profitable than the fyftem of *claying*.

contain

contain from one to three thouſand gallons, have this advantage over ſmall ones; that they are purchaſed at firſt at a leſs proportionate expence. A ſtill of two thouſand gallons, with freight and charges, will coſt but little more than one of one thouſand five hundred gallons, and is beſides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every proprietor that has the means of employing ſtills of that magnitude, I ſhall conſider ſuch as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen hundred weight, and proceed to deſcribe, according to the beſt of my obſervation and experience, the mode of conducting ſuch an apparatus on ſuch a property, in making rum to the greateſt advantage.

For a plantation of that deſcription, I conceive that two copper ſtills, the one of one thouſand two hundred, and the other of ſix hundred gallons, wine meaſure, with proportionate pewter worms, are ſufficient. The ſize of the tanks (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immerſed, muſt depend on circumſtances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running ſtream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a veſſel barely large enough to contain the worm. If the plantation has no other dependence than that of pond-water, a ſtone tank is infinitely ſuperior to a tub, as being

 longer

longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thouſand gallons, the worms of both the ſtills may be placed in the ſame body of water, and kept cool enough for condenſing the ſpirit, by occaſional ſupplies of freſh water.

For working theſe ſtills, it is neceſſary to provide, firſt, a dunder-ciſtern, of at leaſt three thouſand gallons; ſecondly, a ciſtern for the ſcummings; laſtly, twelve fermenting vats or ciſterns, each of them of the contents of the largeſt ſtill, viz. one thouſand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, ciſterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are univerſally preferred to vats, or moveable veſſels, for the purpoſe of fermenting. They are not ſo eaſily affected by the changes of the weather, nor ſo liable to leak as vats, and they laſt much longer. But in the Britiſh diſtilleries, fermenting ciſterns are, I believe, unknown. To complete the apparatus, it is neceſſary to add two or more copper pumps for conveying the liquor from the ciſterns, and pumping up the dunder, and alſo butts or other veſſels for ſecuring the ſpirit when obtained; and it is uſual to build a rum-ſtore adjoining the ſtill-houſe.

The ingredients, or materials, that ſet the various apparatus I have deſcribed into action, conſiſt of,

1ſt. Melasses, or treacle drained from the ſugar, as already deſcribed.

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2dly. SCUMMINGS of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling-houſe, or ſometimes raw-cane liquor, from canes expreſſed for the purpoſe.

3dly. LEES, or, as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder (m)*.

4thly. WATER.

THE uſe of dunder in the making of rum, anſwers the purpoſe of yeaſt in the fermentation of flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former diſtillations; and ſome few planters preſerve it for uſe, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor, therefore, compoſed of ſweets and water alone, ought to be diſtilled in the firſt inſtance, that freſh dunder may be obtained. It is a diſſolvent menſtruum, and certainly occaſions the ſweets with which it is combined, whether melaſſes or ſcummings, to yield a far greater proportion of ſpirit than can be obtained without its aſſiſtance. The water which is added, acts in ſome degree in the ſame manner by dilution.

IN the Windward Iſlands the proceſs, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

SCUMMINGS, one-third.
LEES, or dunder, one-third.
WATER, one-third.

(m) From *redundar*, Spaniſh—the ſame as *redundans* in Latin.

When these ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will rise, in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the first charge of melasses, of which six gallons *(n)* for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, viz. 3 *per cent.* at the first charge, and the other 3 *per cent.* a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a high state of fermentation; the heat of which, however, should not in general be suffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer *(o)*.

When the fermentation falls by easy degrees from the fifth to the seventh or eighth day *(p)*, so as then to grow fine, and throw up slowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for distillation; and the liquor or wash being conveyed into the largest still, which must not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, lest the head should fly, a steady and regular fire must be kept up until it boils, after

(n) This quantity of melasses, added to a third of scummings, gives 11 ½ *per cent.* of sweets, six gallons of scummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of melasses.

(o) The infusion of hot water will raise, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

(p) When the liquor is first set at the beginning of the crop (the house being cold, and the cisterns not saturated) it will not be fit for distillation under ten or twelve days.

which

which a little fuel will ferve. In about two hours the vapour or fpirit being condenfed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the fhape of a ftream, as clear and tranfparent as cryftal; and it is fuffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

THE fpirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a fecond diftillation, of which I fhall prefently fpeak; but previoufly thereto, I fhall point out fome little variation between the practice of the Jamaica diftillers and thofe of the Windward Iflands, obfervable in the firft procefs. This confifts chiefly in a more copious ufe of dunder *(q)*. The following

(q) As the ufe of dunder is to diffolve the tenacity of the faccharine matter, it fhould be proportioned not only to the *quantity*, but alfo to the *nature* of the fweets. Thus, when the fweets in the fermenting ciftern confift of melaffes alone, as generally happens after the bufinefs of fugar-boiling is finifhed, when no fcummings are to be had, a greater proportion of dunder is neceffary; becaufe melaffes is a body of greater tenacity than cane liquor, and is rendered fo vifcous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the moft powerful faline and acid ftimulators. For the fame reafon, at the beginning of the crop, when no melaffes is to be had, and the fweets confift of cane-juice or fcummings alone, very little dunder is neceffary. In fuch cafe I fhould not recommend above 20 per cent. at the utmoft. Dunder, in a large quantity, certainly injures the *flavour*, although it may encreafe the *quantity* of the fpirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the diftillers in England add

BOOK V. lowing being a very general, and, I believe, an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the ſeveral ingredients, viz.

Dunder

add many things to the fermenting liquor, or waſh, in order to augment the vinoſity of the ſpirit, or give it a particular flavour. He obſerves, that a little tartar, nitre, or common ſalt, is ſometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their ſtead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. Theſe are thought to be of great uſe in the fermenting of ſolutions of treacle, honey, and the like ſweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a ſmall proportion of acid. I have heard, that a ſimilar practice prevails among the diſtillers in St. Chriſtopher's; ſome of whom conſider an addition of ſea-water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion I cannot ſay) as a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other things, an aqueous ſolution of tartar; but I conceive that dunder alone anſwers every purpoſe. He likewiſe recommends to the diſtiller to introduce into the fermenting ciſtern a few gallons of the rectified ſpirit, which he ſays will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of ſpirit that would otherwiſe have ariſen from the diſtillation.—As I have tried none of theſe experiments, I can ſay nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe that a ſmall quantity of vegetable aſhes, thrown into the rum-ſtill, will be found ſerviceable. The alkaline ſalts are ſuppoſed to attenuate the ſpirit and keep back the groſs and fetid oil, which the diſtillers call the *faints*; but if uſed in too great a quantity, they may keep back alſo a proportion of the fine eſſential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the moſt important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is *cleanlineſs*; for all adventitious or foreign ſubſtances deſtroy or change the peculiar flavour of the ſpirit. In truth, it ſhould be a conſtant rule with the manager or diſtiller to ſee

that

Dunder one half, or	-	50 gallons	
Sweets 12 *per cent.*	Melaſſes -	6 gallons	42 gallons.
	Scummings	36 gallons (equal to 6 gallons more of melaſſes)	
Water - - -		8 gallons	
		100 gallons.	

Of this mixture (or *waſh*, as it is ſometimes called) one thouſand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low-wines; and the ſtill may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the melaſſes at once, which is done ſoon after the fermentation commences, renders the proceſs ſafe and expeditious; whereas by charging the melaſſes at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the proceſs delayed.

Let us now complete the proceſs according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or veſſel, and, as opportunity ſerves, are conveyed into the ſecond ſtill of ſix hundred gallons, to undergo a further diſtillation. The ſteam begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give, in the courſe of the day, two hundred and twenty gal-

that the ciſterns are ſcalded, and even cleanſed with ſtrong lime-water, each time they are uſed; not merely on account of the rum, but alſo becauſe it has frequently happened that the vapour of a foul ciſtern has inſtantly killed the firſt perſon that has entered it without due precaution.

lons,

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lons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, i. e. of ſpirit in which olive oil will ſink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be ſo called, is complete. There will remain in the ſtill a conſiderable quantity of weaker ſpirit, commonly about ſeventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thouſand two hundred of waſh *(r)*.

By means of the apparatus and proceſs which I have thus deſcribed, the Jamaica diſtiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light (a neceſſary precaution in this employment) and at a ſmall expence of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica ſtandard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of ſugar, is commonly eſtimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above deſcription is ſuppoſed to ſupply annually one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum of one hundred and

(r) Proof ſpirit of any kind weighs ſeven pounds twelve ounces *per* gallon. According to the Engliſh hydroſtatical table, the cubic inch of proof ſpirit weighs 9 p. wt. 19.73 gr. troy, or 8.62 dr. avoirdupois. But it has been found that a cubic inch of good brandy is 10 grains heavier in winter than in ſummer, and that 32 gallons of ſpirits in winter will make 33 in ſummer.

ten

ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogſhead of ſugar;—and this return I do believe is ſometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moiſt lands; but on a general eſtimate, I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogſheads of ſugar, which is in the proportion of about two-thirds rum to the crop of ſugar, is nearer the truth *(s)*.

THE

(s) This will be better underſtood by attending to the following particulars:—The general ſupply of ſcummings to the ſtill-houſe is ſeven gallons out of every 100 gallons of cane-liquor. Suppoſing, therefore, that 2,000 gallons of cane-juice is required for each hogſhead of ſugar of 16 cwt. the ſcummings, on a plantation making 200 hogſheads *per* annum, will be 28,000 gallons, equal to - 4,666 gallons of melaſſes.

Add the melaſſes from the curing-houſe, which, if the ſugar is of a good quality, will ſeldom exceed ſixty gallons *per* hogſhead - - -	12,000
Total of ſweets - -	16,666 gallons.

This, diſtilled at and after the rate of 12 *per cent.* ſweets in the fermenting ciſtern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or 131 puncheons of 110 gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of theſe circumſtances muſt exiſt, either the ſugar diſcharges an unuſual quantity of melaſſes, or the boiling-houſe is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper ſcumming. This latter circumſtance frequently happens.

It ſhould alſo be obſerved, that it is the practice of late, with many planters, to raiſe the proof of rum; thus gaining in ſtrength

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THE reader will pleaſe to recollect, that in this, and the preceding chapter, the obſervations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the field, and the ſubſequent proceſſes of the boiling houſe and diſtillery, have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some ſelection was neceſſary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a ſugar plantation, with ſuch propriety as to that with which I am myſelf practically acquainted.—My next enquiries will relate to the particulars of the firſt coſt of this ſpecies of property, to the current expences attending it, and to the returns which may be reaſonably expected from a capital thus employed; and here again my eſtimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a conſiderable variation in ſome of the Windward Iſlands, I have no doubt. In St. Chriſtopher's, for inſtance, ſome of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very beſt in Jamaica; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of 4 ½ *per cent.* and has other advantages, which probably make the ſcale even.

ſtrength of ſpirit, what is loſt in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the ſcummings to the clarifiers, inſtead of ſending them to the ſtill-houſe. This laſt-mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but is ſuppoſed to yield in ſugar more than is loſt in rum; and if the price of ſugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

CHAP. III.

Capital neceſſary in the ſettlement or purchaſe of a ſugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and ſtock ſeparately conſidered.—Particulars and coſt.—Groſs returns from the property.—Annual Diſburſements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Difference not commonly attended to, in the mode of eſtimating the profits of an Engliſh eſtate, and one in the Weſt Indies.—Inſurance of Weſt India eſtates in time of war, and other occaſional deductions.—The queſtion, why the cultivation of the Sugar Iſlands has encreaſed, under ſo many diſcouragements, conſidered and diſcuſſed.

A SUGAR plantation conſiſts of three great parts; the Lands, the Buildings, and the Stock: but before I proceed to diſcriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to obſerve, that the buſineſs of ſugar planting is a ſort of adventure in which the man that engages, muſt engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very ſeldom the poſſibility of retreat. A Britiſh country gentleman, who is content to jog on without riſk on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will ſtartle to hear that it

it requires a capital of no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to embark in this employment with a fair proſpect of advantage. To elucidate this poſition, it muſt be underſtood that the annual contingencies of a ſmall or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to thoſe of an eſtate of three times the magnitude. A property, for inſtance, producing annually one hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. has occaſion for ſimilar white ſervants, and for buildings and utenſils of nearly the ſame extent and number as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred ſuch hogſheads, with rum in proportion. In ſpeaking of capital, I mean either money, or a ſolid well-eſtabliſhed credit; for there is this eſſential difference attending loans obtained on landed eſtates in Great Britain, and thoſe which are advanced on the credit of Weſt Indian plantations, that an Engliſh mortgage is a marketable ſecurity, which a Weſt Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other perſons are ready to advance it: now this ſeldom happens in regard to property in the Weſt Indies. The credit obtained by the ſugar-planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the proſpect of ſpeedy returns and conſiderable advantage; but as men in trade ſeldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which they

they give is oftentimes ſuddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to ſell his property at much leſs than half its firſt coſt. The credit therefore of which I ſpeak, conſidered as a capital, muſt not only be extenſive, but permanent. CHAP. III.

HAVING premiſed thus much, the application of which will hereafter be ſeen, I ſhall employ my preſent enquiries in aſcertaining the fair and well-eſtabliſhed prices at which a ſugar eſtate may at this time be purchaſed or created, and the profits which may honeſtly and reaſonably be expected from a given capital ſo employed; founding my eſtimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each: an eſtate of leſs magnitude, I conceive, for the reaſons before given, to be comparatively a loſing concern. Afterwards I ſhall endeavour to account for the eagerneſs which has been ſhewn by many perſons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

ON a ſurvey of the general run of the ſugar eſtates in Jamaica, it is found that the land in canes commonly conſtitutes one-third of the plantation;

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plantation;—another third is appropriated to paſturage and the cultivation of proviſions, ſuch as plantains (a hearty and wholeſome food) eddoes, yams, potatoes, caſſada, corn, and other vegetable eſculents peculiar to the country and climate; and which, with ſalted fiſh, ſupplied the negroes weekly, and ſmall ſtock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raiſing, make their chief ſupport, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reſerved in native woods, for the purpoſe of furniſhing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and ſupplying fire-wood for the boiling and diſtilling-houſes, in addition to the cane-traſh, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not leſs than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole extent of ſuch a property muſt be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am perſuaded that the ſugar plantations in Jamaica making thoſe returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall ſhort of, this eſtimate; not, as hath been ignorantly aſſerted, from a fond and avaricious propenſity in the proprietors to engroſs more land than is neceſſary; but becauſe, from the nature of the ſoil, and rugged ſurface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is ſeldom that even three hundred acres of ſoil in contiguity, fit for the production of ſugar, can be

be procured. A purchaser therefore must take the bad with the good. Neverthelefs, as it is my intention to give as precife an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the fugar-planting bufinefs, *under the moft favourable circumftances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital vefted in unproductive woodland, but fix on fix hundred acres, as fufficient for all the purpofes that have been mentioned; appropriating one-half of the whole, inftead of one-third, to the culture of the cane.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its fituation. In feafonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the fea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchafe a quantity of a fugar land fufficient for a good eftate, unlefs at a very high price. On the north fide, in a fertile and feafonable parifh, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, fell for ten pounds currency *per* acre, but it was at the diftance of ten miles from the fea; and the purchafer had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniencies to which this was fubject, would, as lands fell in Jamaica, be well worth, and eafily obtain, fourteen pounds currency, or ten pounds fterling *per* acre. Six hundred acres at this price is £. 8,400 currency. The coft of clearing one-half, and planting it in canes, including four

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cleanings, would be £. 12 currency *per* acre, or £. 3,600. Clearing and planting 100 acres in provisions, would be £. 7 an acre, or £. 700; the same for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guiney grass. Inclosing and fencing the whole would cost, on a moderate estimate, £. 700 more. —Total £. 14,100 currency, being equal to £. 10,071 sterling.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings which will be found necessary on a plantation of the magnitude described are,

	Jamaica Currency.
1st. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained) the cost of which, considering that a great extent of stone guttering is commonly requisite, may be stated, on a very low estimate, at £. 1,000 sterling. In case no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a single mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is sufficient to take off the crop in due time, a most important object, on which the future success of the plantation depends. I allow therefore for a wind-mill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind-mill, a sum equal to the cost of a water-mill, or	1,400

2d. A

	Jamaica Currency.
2d. A boiling-houſe, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and 4 other pans or boilers, including the coſt of the ſame, and other utenſils - -	1,000
3d. A curing-houſe, adjoining to the boiling-houſe, calculated to hold one half the crop, with ſtrong joiſts of ſolid timbers inſtead of a floor, having a terraſſed or boarded platform underneath, leading to a melaſſes ciſtern, lined with terras, ſufficient to contain 6,000 gallons - - - - -	800
4th. A diſtilling-houſe, 70 feet by 30; the diſtillery part to contain 2 ſtills of 1,200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate: alſo a ſtone tank or ciſtern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or ciſterns, for the dunder and ſkimmings: alſo 12 ciſterns of ſolid plank fixed in the earth, of 1,200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other neceſſary apparatus: together alſo with a rum ſtore under the ſame roof - - - -	1,600
5th. A dwelling-houſe for the overſeer	600

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	Jamaica Currency.
6th. Two traſh-houſes, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation ſtone, the ſides open, the roof ſupported by ſtone pillars, and covered by ſhingles, £. 300 each - -	600
7th. A hoſpital for the ſick negroes, containing alſo a room for lying-in women, a room for confining diſorderly negroes, a ſhop for the doctor, and one or more ſtore rooms for ſecuring the plantation utenſils and proviſions - -	300
8th. A mule ſtable, for 60 mules, with a corn-loft above - -	150
9th. Shops for the different tradeſmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright, and ſmith - -	150
10th. Sheds for the waggons, wains, carts, &c. - - - -	50
Add extra expences, ſuch as the coſt of the wains, utenſils for the ſmith's ſhop, houſehold furniture, &c. &c. - - - -	350
The total is £. 5,000 ſterling, being equal to - currency -	7,000

STOCK,

STOCK.

The ſtock on a plantation of the magnitude deſcribed, cannot prudently conſiſt of leſs than two hundred and fifty negroes, eighty ſteers, and ſixty mules. It is not ſufficient to object, that two hundred hogſheads of ſugar have been produced by the labour of a leſs number of negroes than is here allowed. I am treating of an eſtate which produces that quantity *on a medium*; conſequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable ſeaſons, the crops will ſometimes fall ſhort of, at other times they muſt greatly exceed the numbers preſcribed; and under theſe circumſtances, I do not believe a plantation will eaſily be named that poſſeſſes *(or employs, in job work and otherwiſe)* a leſs number of negroes annually. If ſuch an eſtate there is, I heſitate not to pronounce that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worſe than that which, by over-working the negroes, ſacrifices the capital for the ſake of a temporary augmented income?—The coſt of the ſtock, therefore, may be ſtated as follows:

	Jamaica Currency.
250 Negroes, at £. 70 each - -	17,500
80 Steers, at £. 15 - - -	1,200
60 Mules, at £. 28 - - -	1,680
Total in currency (equal to £. 14,557 ſterling) - - -	£. 20,380

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LET us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica Currency.
LANDS, - - - - -	14,100
BUILDINGS, - - - - -	7,000
STOCK, - - - - -	20,380
Total in Currency - -	41,480

Which is only £. 520 ſhort of £. 42,000 Jamaica currency, or £. 30,000 ſterling, the ſum firſt mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of ſuch a property were to ſell it by appraiſement, the valuation would amount to nearly the ſum expended. It would therefore be more adviſeable, undoubtedly, to purchaſe a plantation ready ſettled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inaſmuch as the labour and riſk of the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but, however this may be, it muſt be conſidered as a fixed and well-eſtabliſhed fact, that a ſugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been ſuppoſed, whether acquired by purchaſe, or by the riſk and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably coſt (the neceſſary buildings and ſtock included) £. 30,000 ſterling, before any adequate intereſt can be received from the capital.

THE produce of ſuch a plantation has been

* ſtated

ſtated at 200 hogſheads of ſugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus annis*; the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows:

		Sterling.
200 Hogſheads of ſugar, at £. 15 ſterling *per* hogſhead	- -	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, at £. 10 ſterling *per* puncheon	- -	1,300
Groſs Returns	- -	£. 4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the ſugar alone, is ſo much clear profit. The annual diſburſements are firſt to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which ſuppoſes they are provided for by the rum. If ſuch indeed were the fact, the capital would yield preciſely an annual intereſt of ten *per cent.*: but a reference to the ſeveral items, which I have particularized in a note *(a)*, will demonſtrate the fallacy of this too

(a) ANNUAL SUPPLIES
from Great Britain and Ireland.

1ſt. *NEGRO CLOTHING*; viz.

1,500 Yards of Oznaburgh cloth, or German linen.
650 Yards of blue bays, or penniſtones, for a warm frock for each negro.

350 Yards

too common mode of calculation. They amount, at a very moderate eſtimate, (including freight, charges, and merchants commiſſions, and adding a proportional part of the coſt of many expenſive articles, ſuch as coppers, ſtills, wain-tyre, grating-bars,

---

350 Yards of ſtriped linſeys for the women.
250 Yards of coarſe check for ſhirts for the boilers, tradeſmen, domeſticks, and children.
3 Dozen of coarſe blankets for lying-in women, and ſick negroes.
18 Dozen of coarſe hats.

2d. *TOOLS.*

For the carpenters and coopers, to the amount of £.25. ſterling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling axes.

3d. *MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.*

160,000 Nails of differeut ſizes.
2,500 Puncheon rivets.
6 Cattle chains.
6 Dozen of hoes.
6 Dozen of bills.
20 Dozen of ſmall claſp knives for the negroes.
4 Dozen of ox bows.
50 Bundles of iron hoops.
2 Sets of puncheon truſs hoops.
2 Sets of hogſhead ditto.
80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.
2 Barrels of tar.
2 Boxes of ſhort tobacco pipes for the negroes.
180 Bundles of wood hoops.
2 Sheets of lead.
6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.
6 Ditto ſkimmers }

8 Dozen

bars, &c. which would perhaps be wanted once in five years) to the sum of £ 850 sterling. To this sum are to be added the following very heavy

CHARGES within the Island; viz.

	Currency.
Overseer's or manager's salary - -	200
Distiller's ditto - - - - -	70
Two other white servants, £. 60 each -	120
A white carpenter's wages - -	100
Maintenance of five white servants, exclusive of their allowance of salted provisions, £. 40 each - -	200
Medical care of the negroes, (at 6 *s.* *per annum* for each negro) and *extra* cases, which are paid for separately	100

Millwright's,

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8 Dozen of small iron pots for the negroes.
2 Puncheons of Bristol lime for temper.
4 Grindstones.

PROVISIONS, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

80 Barrels of herrings, or salted cod equal thereto.
6 Barrels of salted beef.
2 Barrels of salted pork.
4 Firkins of salted butter.
2 Boxes of soap.
2 Boxes of candles.
2 Hogsheads of salt.
6 Barrels of flour.
6 Kegs of pease.
3 Jugs of groats.

	Currency.
Millwright's, copperſmith's, plumber's, and ſmith's bills, annually - -	250
Colonial taxes, publick and parochial -	200
Annual ſupply of mules and ſteers -	300
Wharfage and ſtoreage of goods landed and ſhipped - - - -	100
American ſtaves and heading, for hogſheads and puncheons - -	150
A variety of ſmall occaſional ſupplies of different kinds, ſuppoſed - -	50
Equal to £. 1,300 ſterling; being in Currency - - -	£. 1,840

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is £. 2,150 ſterling, which is preciſely one-half the groſs returns; leaving the other moiety, or £. 2,150 ſterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being ſeven *per cent.* on his capital, and £. 50 over, without charging, however, a ſhilling for making good the decreaſe of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and ſuppoſing too, that the proprietor reſides on the ſpot; for if he is abſent, he is ſubject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of ſix pounds *per cent.* on the groſs value of his ſugar and rum, for legal commiſſions to his agent. With theſe, and other drawbacks (to ſay nothing of the devaſtations which are ſometimes occa-

ſioned

fioned by fires and hurricanes, deftroying in a few hours the labour of years) it is not wonderful that the profits fhould frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather that a fuger eftate, with all its boafted advantages, fhould fometimes prove a mill-ftone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to deftruction *(b)*!

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be fuch as to exempt him from moft of the loffes and calamities that have been enumerated, it muft neverthelefs be remembered, that the fugar planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contrafting the profits of a Weft Indian plantation with thofe of a landed eftate in Great Britain, this circumftance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an Englifh proprietor, in ftating the income which he receives from his capital, includes not in his eftimate the profits made by his tenants. Thefe conftitute a diftinct object, and are ufually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a fugar plantation yielding

(b) In Jamaica, the ufual mode of calculating, in a general way, the average profits of a fugar eftate, is to allow £. 10 fterling *per annum* for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation.

double

double the profit to the planter; and poſſeſſes beſides all that ſtability, certainty and ſecurity, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An Engliſh gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than ſuch as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate. Nor is he under the diſagreeable neceſſity in time of war, of paying large premiums for inſuring his eſtate from capture by a foreign enemy. This is another tax, which the unfortunate Weſt Indian, reſident in Great Britain, muſt add to his expences; or ſubmit to the diſagreeable alternative of paſſing many an uneaſy day and ſleepleſs night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his poſſeſſions, and the future ſubſiſtence of his family;—haraſſed, perhaps, at the ſame time, by creditors whoſe importunity increaſes as their ſecurity becomes endangered.

But there is a queſtion, naturally ariſing from the premiſes, to which it is proper that I ſhould, in this place, give an anſwer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and conſidering withal, that the returns are in general but ſmall, and at beſt uncertain, how has it happened that the ſugar iſlands have been ſo rapidly ſettled, and many a great eſtate purchaſed in the mother-country, from the profits that have accrued from their cultivation?

It

It were to be wifhed that thofe who make fuch enquiries would enquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy perfons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation of thefe iflands, without poffeffing any adequate means to fupport them in fuch great undertakings? On the failure of fome of thefe unfortunate men, vaft eftates have indeed been raifed by perfons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumftance, behold a fugar planter ftruggling in diftrefs, with the fame emotions as are felt by the Cornifh peafants in contemplating a fhipwreck on the coaft, and haften with equal rapacioufnefs to participate in the fpoil. Like them too, they fometimes hold out falfe lights to lead the unwary adventurer to deftruction; more efpecially if he has any thing confiderable of his own to fet out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a fkilful practitioner well knows where to ftop: he is aware what very large fums muft be expended in the purchafe of the freehold, and in the firft operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furnifhed; but the time foon arrives

when

when a further advance is requiſite to give life and activity to the ſyſtem, by the addition of the negroes and the ſtock. Now then is the moment for oppreſſion, aided by the letter of the law, and the proceſs of office, to reap a golden harveſt. If the property anſwers expectation, and the lands promiſe great returns, the ſagacious creditor, inſtead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the beſt of his way by his own exertions, pleads a ſudden and unexpected emergency; and inſiſts on immediate re-payment of the ſum already lent. The law, on this occaſion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable. A ſale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himſelf. Ready money is required in payment, and every one ſees that a further ſum will be wanting to make the eſtate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wiſh, efficaciouſly to aſſiſt the devoted victim. Thus, the creditor gets the eſtate at his own price, commonly for his firſt advance, while the miſerable debtor has reaſon to thank his ſtars if, conſoling himſelf with only the loſs of his own original capital, and his labour for a ſeries of years, he eſcapes a priſon for life.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts of

of law, in all or moſt of our iſlands (Jamaica eſpecially) and the recollection of every inhabitant, furniſh inconteſtable proof. At the ſame time it cannot juſtly be denied that there are creditors, eſpecially among the Britiſh merchants, of a very different character from thoſe that have been deſcribed, who, having advanced their money to reſident planters, not in the view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and neceſſities, but ſolely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much againſt their inclination, to become planters themſelves; being obliged to receive unprofitable Weſt Indian eſtates in payment, or loſe their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner, which are a burthen inſtead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up ſolely in the hope that favourable crops, and an advance in the prices of Weſt Indian produce, may, ſome time or other, invite purchaſers. Thus oppreſſion in one claſs of creditors, and groſs injuſtice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the riſques and loſſes are great, the gains are ſometimes commenſurate; for ſugar eſtates there are, undoubtedly, from which, inſtead of the returns that I have eſtimated as the average intereſt on the capital, double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true, that ſuch inſtances are extremely

 rare;

rare; but perhaps to that very circumſtance, which to a philoſopher, ſpeculating in his cloſet, would ſeem ſufficient to deter a wiſe man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing that ſo much money has been expended in it: I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of ſugar varies occaſionally to ſo great a degree as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten ſhillings ſterling in the hundred weight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being preciſely the ſame on Muſcovado ſugar, of whatever quality. Thus fine ſugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no leſs than £. 1,500 ſterling on 200 hogſheads of the uſual magnitude, beyond what the ſame number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the ſame market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to ſoil and ſeaſons in the Weſt Indies, or to the ſtate of the Britiſh market, is to contradict common obſervation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on ſkill in the manufacture; and, the proceſs being apparently ſimple, the beholder (from a propenſity natural to the buſy and inquiſitive part of mankind) feels an almoſt irreſiſtible propenſity to engage in it. In this, therefore, as in all other enterpriſes, whoſe ſucceſs depends in any degree on human ſagacity and prudence, though perhaps

not

not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every ſanguine adventurer takes for granted that he ſhall be that *one*. Thus his ſyſtem of life becomes a courſe of experiments, and, if ruin ſhould be the conſequence of his raſhneſs, he imputes his misfortunes to any cauſe, rather than to his own want of capacity or foreſight.

THAT the reaſons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in anſwer to the queſtion that has been ſtated, I preſume not to affirm. Other cauſes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be aſſigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too ſtriking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

HAVING now, I believe, ſufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of ſugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteneſs (tedious perhaps but) ſuited, as I conceive, to the importance of the ſubject, the firſt coſt, and current contingencies attending the eſtabliſhment and profitable maintenance of a ſugar plantation, together with the riſque and gains eventually ariſing from this ſpecies of property, I ſhall proceed, in the following chapter, to furniſh my readers with ſuch information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor ſtaples,

ſpecially thoſe important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with ſugar and rum, principally conſtitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of ſhipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of England at the beginning of the preſent century.

CHAP. IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON, *its growth and various ſpecies.—Mode of cultivation, and riſques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.*—INDIGO, *its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the firſt Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that iſland.*—COFFEE, *whether that of the Weſt Indies equal to the* Mocha?—*Situation and ſoil. Exorbitant duty to which it was ſubject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Eſtimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.*—CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES, *and* PIMENTO; *brief account of each.*

COTTON.

CHAP. IV.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or ſubſtance called cotton, is the ſpontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Aſia, Africa, and America; and may juſtly be comprehended among the moſt valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, ſuperintending and providing for the neceſſities of man.

The cotton-wool, which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a ſpecies in the Weſt Indies, called ſilk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) conſiſts of two diſtinct kinds, known to the planters by the names of Green-seed Cotton, and Shrub Cotton; and theſe again have ſubordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greateſt advantage.

Green-seed cotton is of two ſpecies; of one of which the wool is ſo firmly attached to the ſeed, that no method has hitherto been found of ſeparating them, except by the hand; an operation ſo tedious and troubleſome, that the value of the commodity is not proportionate to the pains that are requiſite in preparing it for market. This ſort therefore is at preſent cultivated principally for ſupplying wick for the lamps that are uſed in ſugar-boiling, and for domeſtick purpoſes; but the ſtaple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtleſs be a valuable acquiſition to the muſlin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it eaſily from the ſeed.

The other ſort has larger ſeeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineneſs; though much finer than the cotton-wool in general cultivation; and it is eaſily ſeparated from the ſeed by the common method,

method, hereafter to be defcribed. I have been told that this fpecies of the green-feed cotton is not fufficiently known to the planters in general, (being ufually confounded with the former) or that probably it would be in high eftimation.

Both the fpecies above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early ftage, when they are mere fhrubs, will, if fuffered to fpread, grow into trees of confiderable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the feafon, without any kind of cultivation. The bloffoms put forth in fucceffion from October to January, and the pods begin to open fit for gathering from February to June. I come now to the

Shrub Cotton, properly fo called. The fhrub itfelf very nearly refembles an European Corinth bufh, and may be fubdivided into feveral varieties, all of which however very nearly refemble each other *(a)*. Thefe varieties (fuch of

(a) The flowers are compofed of five large yellow leaves, each ftained at the bottom with a purple fpot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The piftil is ftrong and large, furrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous duft, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the piftil. This is likewife furrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capfular pod, fupported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The inclofed pod opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, difcovering the cotton in as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In thefe locks are interfperfed the feeds, which are commonly fmall and black.

them at leaſt as have come to my knowledge) are,

1ſt, The *Common Jamaica*; the ſeeds of which are oblong, perfectly ſmooth, and have no beard at the ſmaller end. The ſtaple is coarſe, but ſtrong. Its greateſt defect is, that the ſeeds are ſo brittle it is ſcarce poſſible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the loweſt-priced cotton at the Britiſh market. Such however is the obſtinacy of habit, that few of the Britiſh cotton planters give themſelves the trouble to ſelect a better ſort, or ſeem indeed to wiſh for it.

2d, *Brown Bearded.*—This is generally cultivated with the ſpecies laſt-mentioned, but the ſtaple is ſomewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The ſhrub gives likewiſe a better ratoon. It is therefore the intereſt of the cotton planter to cultivate it ſeparately. The only diſadvantage attending it is, that it is not ſo eaſily detached from the ſeed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds leſs in his day's work.

3d, *Nankeen.*—This differs but little in the ſeeds or otherwiſe from the ſpecies laſt-mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called Nankeen. It is not ſo much in demand as the white.

4th, *French* or *Small-ſeed*, with a whitiſh beard. This

This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hiſpaniola. Its ſtaple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three ſpecies laſt-mentioned, as the ſhrub is ſuppoſed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is leſs hardy than either.

5th, *Kidney Cotton*, ſo called from the ſeeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other ſorts they are ſeparated. It is likewiſe called *Chain* Cotton, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Braſil.—The ſtaple is good, the pod large, and the produce conſiderable. A ſingle negro may clear with eaſe ſixty-five pounds in a day, beſides which, it leaves the ſeeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clean from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the higheſt degree, to mix this ſpecies with any other.

On the whole, the moſt profitable ſorts for general cultivation ſeem to be, the ſecond of the Green-ſeed, the French or Small-ſeed, and the Braſilian. The mode of culture is the ſame with all the different ſpecies, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flouriſh in the drieſt and moſt rocky ſoils, *provided ſuch lands have not been exhauſted by former cultivation.* Dryneſs, both in reſpect of the ſoil and atmoſphere, is indeed eſſentially neceſſary in all its ſtages; for if the land is moiſt, the plant expends itſelf in branches and leaves, and if the rains are heavy,

heavy, either when the plant is in bloſſom, or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is loſt. Perhaps, however, theſe obſervations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other.

The plant is raiſed from the ſeed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances; and the ſeaſon for putting the ſeed into the ground is from May to September, both months incluſive. This is uſually done in ranks or rows, leaving a ſpace between each, of ſix or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the ſeeds into each hole, becauſe ſome of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young ſprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of ſlow growth for the firſt ſix weeks, at which period it is neceſſary to clean the ground and draw the ſupernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the ſtrongeſt in each hole. One plant alone would be ſufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity; but many of the tender ſprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a ſecond time; and both the ſtem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd*; an inch (or more if the plants are luxuriant)

riant) being broke off from the end of each ſhoot; which is done in order to make the ſtems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over luxuriant, is ſometimes performed a ſecond, and even a third time. At the end of five months, the plant begins to bloſſom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more, the pod is formed. From the ſeventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in ſucceſſion; when they burſt open in three partitions, diſplaying their white and gloſſy down to the ſight. The wool is now gathered, the ſeeds being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine reſembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is compoſed of two ſmall rollers placed cloſe and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in oppoſite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot (*b*). The cotton being put by the hand to theſe rollers as they move round, readily paſſes between them, leaving the ſeeds, which are too large for the interſpace behind. The wool is afterwards hand-picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken ſeeds, and wool which has been ſtained and damaged in the pod (*c*). It is then packed into

(*b*) It is a very ſlight and ſimple inſtrument, and coſts only from two to three guineas.

(*c*) The cotton manufactory of England, ſince the year 1780,

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into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and ſent to market.

THE fineſt grained and moſt perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the Engliſh market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demarara, and Surinam, and of the iſland of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool of all kinds found a ready ſale at the following prices:

		s.	*d.*	
Berbice	- -	2	1	*per* lb.
Demarara	- -	1	11	to 2*s.* 1*d.*
Surinam	- -	2	—	
Cayenne	- -	2	—	
St. Domingo	-	1	10	
Tobago	- -	1	9	
Jamaica	- -	1	7	

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the ſame; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 *per cent.* in favour of the former; a circumſtance which alone ſhould con-

1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large ſpinning machines which are worked by water. Theſe require the cleaneſt cotton, as the ſmalleſt particle of a broken ſeed breaks the thread in this mode of ſpinning.

vince

vince the moſt bigotted planter of the Britiſh Weſt Indies that, if he wiſhes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better ſpecies of cotton, at leaſt of a ſort more eaſily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indiſpenſably requiſite.

I SHALL now bring into one point of view the ſeveral particulars attending the firſt coſt and ſettlement of a plantation in this ſort of huſbandry, and the returns which may reaſonably be expected from a ſmall capital thus employed. I fix on a ſmall capital; becauſe I conceive that a cotton plantation may be eſtabliſhed on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the intereſt of the community that men of ſmall fortunes ſhould be inſtructed how to employ their time and labours to the beſt advantage; ſince it is to ſuch men chiefly that the Weſt Indies are to look for ſafety in the hour of danger.

IT is preſumed that land proper for the growth of cotton, ſituated near the ſea, may be purchaſed, in many parts of the Weſt Indies (Jamaica eſpecially), at £.5 Jamaica currency *per* acre; and as it is prudent, in moſt caſes, to change the ſoil after the third crop, by replanting freſh land *(d)*, I will allot fifty acres for the firſt purchaſe,

(d) If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are ſometimes gathered from the ſame original plants; after which, inſtead of replanting, it is not uncommon

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purchaſe, in order that the planter may have room for that purpoſe. Suppoſing therefore that one half only is planted in cotton at the ſame time, the capital will be inveſted as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Coſt of fifty acres of land, at £.5 currency *per* acre - -	250	—	—
Expence of cleaning, fencing, and planting 25 acres, at £.7 *per* acre - - - -	175	—	—
Purchaſe of twelve negroes, at £.70 each - - -	840	—	—
	1,265	—	—
One year's intereſt, at 6 *per cent.*	75	18	—
One year's maintenance, clothing, and medical care of the negroes - - - - -	120	—	—
Total expenditure in Jamaica currency (equal to £. 1,040 ſterling)	1,460	18	—

common to cut the cotton buſhes down to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the ſtems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the ſame manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly ſaved by this practice, but, in nine caſes out of ten, it will be found more profitable to reſort to freſh land, every third or fourth year. I conſider, at the ſame time, land to be freſh enough which has lain fallow, or been uſed in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar ſort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton-plants.

THE

THE returns are now to be conſidered:— In Jamaica it is commonly reckoned that one acre of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in ſome years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any conſiderable number of ſucceſſive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama iſlands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787 (all which years were conſidered as favourable), the produce of the cotton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds *per* acre; viz.

In 1785	— 2,476	acres produced	2,480	Cwt. of Cotton.
1786	— 3,050		3,000	
1787	— 4,500		4,380	

THE price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the ſame, viz. 1 *s.* 3 *d.* ſterling *per* pound.— Allowing therefore the average produce *per* acre to be one hundred weight, the returns are theſe; viz.

	Sterling.
25 cwt. at 1 *s.* 3 *d.* ſterling *per* pound	£. 175
Deduct incidental expences, as materials for bagging, colonial taxes, &c. (*e*) - - -	25
Remains in ſterling money - -	150

Which

(*e*) The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the firſt year, is not charged, becauſe it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being ſufficient to find them in full employment, they

Which gives an intereſt of upwards of fourteen *per cent.* on the capital; ariſing too from the loweſt-priced cotton. If the ſame calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two ſhillings *per* pound value (the preſent price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo) the profit on the capital is twenty-four *per cent.*

FROM this diſplay, the rapid progreſs which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain ſome circumſtances, of a leſs favourable nature, to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the moſt precarious. In its firſt ſtage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the ſecond; it is ſometimes withered by the blaſt; and rains frequently deſtroy it both in the bloſſom and the pod. The Bahama iſlands afforded a melancholy inſtance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788; no leſs than 280 tons, on a moderate eſtimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March, in that year. After this the reader will hardly ſuſpect me of having rated the aver-

they may raiſe corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than ſufficient to pay for their clothing and ſupport. It is uſual even to raiſe corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton buſhes.

age

age produce of this plant, for a ſeries of years, too low *.

WITH every diſadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the Britiſh manufactories, encreaſes with ſuch rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable; the Britiſh dominions not ſupplying, at preſent, much more than one-fourth part of the home demand. If, after a careful ſelection and trials of the different ſpecies of the ſeeds already in our poſſeſſion, the cotton-wool of the Britiſh Weſt Indies ſhall ſtill be found inferior to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better ſort. It is evident that the French cotton loſes its ſuperiority in our iſlands, by being ſown promiſcuouſly with an inferior ſpecies.

I SHALL conclude the ſubject, with preſenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentick ſources; which cannot fail to furniſh abundant encouragement for ſpeculation and adventure.

* It has been ſuggeſted, that the ravages of the worm or grub might be prevented *by raiſing the plant from ſlips or layers.*

An Account of foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, in British Ships.

Years.	lbs.
1784 - - -	1,135,750
1785 - - -	1,398,500
1786 - - -	1,346,386
1787 - - -	1,158,000.

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, under the Freeport Act.

Years.	lbs.
1784 - - -	2,169,000
1785 - - -	1,573,280
1786 - - -	1,962,500
1787 - - -	1,943,000.

An Account of Cotton-wool, British and Foreign, imported from the British West Indies into Great Britain.

Years.	lbs.
1784 - - -	6,893,959
1785 - - -	8,204,611
1786 - - -	7,830,734
1787 - - -	9,396,921.

An

An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great Britain, from all Parts.

Years.	lbs.	Suppofed Value in Manufactures.
1784 -	11,280,338 -	£.3,950,000 fterling.
1785 -	17,992,888 -	6,000,000
1786 -	19,151,867 -	6,500,000
1787 -	22,600,000* -	7,500,000.

Machinery eftablifhed in Great Britain (1787) for the Cotton Manufactory.

143 Water Mills, which coft -	£.715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for fpinning the fhute, for the twifted yarn fpun by the water-mills, (including buildings and auxiliary machinery) - - - - -	285,000
Total - -	£. 1,000,000

* Of the following growths; viz.

Britifh fugar iflands - - -	6,600,000
French and Spanifh fettlements	6,000,000
Dutch fettlements - - - -	1,700,000
Portuguefe fettlements - - -	2,500,000
Eaft Indies - - - - - - -	100,000
Smyrna or Turkey - - - -	5,700,000
	22,600,000

THE water-mills work 286,000 ſpindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of ſpindles 1,951,100.—And it has been aſſerted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demarara, has been ſpun into 356 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; ſo that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

ON the whole, it is computed that not leſs than three hundred and fifty thouſand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a two-fold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent enquirer, there are from ten to twelve millions of ſheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to £. 3,000,000; the expence of manufacturing this is probably £. 9,000,000, and the total value £. 12,000,000.

INDIGO.

THE Plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo (probably ſo named from India, where it was firſt known to be manufactured)

tured *) grows ſpontaneouſly in all the Weſt Indies. In the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, they reckon three diſtinct ſpecies: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The firſt is ſaid to be the hardieſt, and the dye extracted from it is ſuppoſed to be of the beſt quality, both in colour and cloſeneſs of grain; but one of the other two ſpecies is commonly preferred by the planter, as yielding a greater return; and of thoſe, the French ſurpaſſes the Guatimala in quantity; but yields to it in fineneſs of grain and beauty of colour *(f)*. CHAP. IV.

THAT the richeſt ſoil produces the moſt luxuriant plant, and that good ſeaſons accelerate its growth, cannot, I think, be doubted; but, obſerving its long tap-root, and ſpontaneous growth, in almoſt every dry and barren ſavannah, I am convinced it will thrive on ſoils that are fit for

* L'Abbé Raynal by a groſs miſtake aſſerts, that the plant itſelf was originally carried to the Weſt Indies from the Eaſt. It was found growing ſpontaneouſly in all parts of St. Domingo, by Columbus himſelf, on the firſt diſcovery of the Weſt Indies; and was indigenous alſo in Mexico, and other parts of the continent, as appears from the teſtimony of Pet. Martyr and all the early Spaniſh writers, not one of whom does it ſeem that L'Abbé Raynal ever read.

(f) The *wild* indigo *(indigofera argentea)* has ſhort crooked pods and black ſeeds: the *Guatimala* is diſtinguiſhed by the redneſs of the ſtalk, and the colour of the ſeeds, which is green. This is the *indigofera diſperma* of Linnæus. The *French* is a ſhort buſhy plant, with roundiſh leaves. It has long crooked pods, and its ſeeds are yellow. The French call it *Indigo franc*. It is the *indigofera tinctoria* of Linnæus.

 nothing

nothing elſe. The longeſt dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if ſuffered to remain long on the plant.

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into ſmall trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches aſunder; in the bottom of which, the ſeeds are ſtrewed by the hand, and covered lightly with mould; but as the plants ſhoot, the field muſt be frequently weeded and kept conſtantly clean, until they riſe and ſpread ſufficiently to cover the ground. A buſhel of ſeed is ſufficient for four or five acres of land.

In the Weſt Indies, the beſt ſeaſon for planting is ſuppoſed to be the month of March, but the plant will flouriſh at any other period; and, if ſown in new land, will come to full bloſſom (and it is then in perfection) in about three calendar months. In the ſouthern provinces of America, the ſeaſon for planting depends greatly on the nature of the ſpring, which varies much in thoſe countries. If the plants appear above ground by the firſt day of March, they will be fit for cutting about the twentieth of Auguſt; and are ſometimes equal to the beſt in the Weſt Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries; that in the Weſt Indies, in

ſeaſonable

ſeaſonable ſituations, they have ſometimes four cuttings in the year from the ſame roots, whereas in North America they have never more than two, and not often more than one. The plant is a child of the ſun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great advantage, no where but within the tropicks *(g)*.

But that ſun which thus improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the ſame time an inſect deſtructive to it. This is a ſpecies of grub or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the Weſt Indies, to diſappoint the planter's expectations the ſecond year upon the ſame land: the only remedy is *to change the ſoil every year*. The want of due attention to this important circumſtance, has probably been one of the cauſes that ſo many perſons have failed of late years in their attempts to revive the culture of this valuable commodity.

If this deſtructive peſt be happily prevented, or greatly mitigated, the produce *per* acre of the firſt cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck*; or about ſixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatimala. The produce in North America is ſometimes

(g) The ratoons, or ſubſequent growths from the ſame plants, ripen in ſix or eight weeks; but the produce diminiſhes faſt after the ſecond cutting, ſo that it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſow the ſeeds anew every year.

nearly as much; but when Fahrenheit's thermometer falls to 60°, the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity; a greater heat being abſolutely neceſſary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the ſubſequent cuttings ſomewhat diminiſhes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. *per* acre of the ſecond quality, may be expected annually, from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are ſufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, beſides doing other occaſional work, ſufficient to reimburſe the expences of their maintenance and clothing.

THE proceſs for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two ciſterns, which are placed like two ſteps, the one aſcending to the other. The higheſt (which is alſo the longeſt) is called the *ſteeper*; and its dimenſions are about ſixteen feet ſquare, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for diſcharging the fluid into the ſecond, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet ſquare, and four and a half in depth. Ciſterns of theſe dimenſions, are proper for about ſeven acres of the plant: but if ſtone work cannot eaſily be erected for want of materials, vats of ſtrong timber, well ſecured from leakage, will anſwer as well *(h)*.

THE

(h) There is alſo required a lime-vat, ſix by eight feet ſquare, and four feet deep; and it may be proper to obſerve, that the tap or plug hole ought to be placed at leaſt eight inches

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or ſickles, a few inches above the root *(i)*, and placed by *ſtrata* in the ſteeper, until it is about three parts full. They are then ſtrongly preſſed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this ſtate it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted: but the utmoſt attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too ſoon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occaſion putrefaction, by which all the dye is deſtroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto

inches from the bottom, to leave ſufficient room for the lime to ſubſide, before the lime-water is drawn off into the battery.

(i) Some perſons are of opinion that the plants ſhould not be cut nearer the ground than ſix inches, and that a few branches ſhould be left on the ſtem.—This practice, they ſay, will draw up the ſap better, and produce a more luxuriant ratoon than when a naked ſtalk only is left. During the firſt cutting it is uſual to leave ſome of the moſt flouriſhing ſtalks for ſeed, which ought not to be gathered until it is well hardened in the pod.—It generally requires ten buſhels of the pod to produce a ſingle buſhel of clean dry ſeed fit for ſowing. It may alſo be obſerved, that many indigo planters have a notion that the plant yields the greateſt quantity of the dye, when cut at the full of the moon.—Of this fact I can aſſert nothing of my own knowledge.

been

BOOK V.

been the grand *desideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpose, were made some years ago in the island of Hispaniola, under the sanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and instructions (which were said to be practised with great success by Messrs. Dangdale and Mongon, indigo planters in that island) were published by authority, to this effect:

"After the Indigo has been steeped in the cistern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few strokes upon white paper. The first will probably be high coloured, in which case the indigo is not sufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loses its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation."

It is astonishing that an experiment so simple in itself, if it answers, should have been for so many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confess, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myself somewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method, which I give on the authority of Mr. Lediard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty:

"Let a small hole be made in the steeper, six or eight inches from the bottom, exclusive of the

opening

opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewiſe be ſtopped with a plug, yet not ſo firmly but that a ſmall ſtream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been ſteeped ſome hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the ciſtern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperiſh colour. This copperiſh hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually aſcend upwards to the plug, and when that circumſtance is perceived, it is proper to ſtop the fermentation.

" DURING the progreſs of this part of the buſineſs, particular attention ſhould be paid to the ſmell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for ſhould it diſcover any ſourneſs, it will be neceſſary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime water of ſufficient ſtrength muſt be added to it, until it has loſt its ſourneſs As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow, or ſtraw colour, but in the battery it will be of a moſt beautiful green."

THE tincture being thus diſcharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes on the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica with manual labour, by means of paddles, and,

BOOK V. and, in the French iſlands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to long poles;—but far more convenient machines are now conſtructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horſe or a mule. When the fluid has, by ſuch means, been well churned for the ſpace of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a ſtrong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a ſeparation, but likewiſe to fix the colour and preſerve it from putrefaction. But the planters (as Brown obſerves) " muſt carefully diſtinguiſh the different ſtages of this part of the operation alſo, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain paſſes gradually from a greeniſh to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is ſufficiently worked; too ſmall a degree of agitation leaving the indigo green and coarſe; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almoſt black."

The liquor being properly and ſufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undiſturbed until the flakes or *floculæ* ſettle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the indigo diſtributed into ſmall linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little ſquare boxes or moulds, and ſuffered to

dry

dry gradually in the shade; and this finishes the manufacture*. CHAP. IV.

To what has been said above of the nature of the plant, suiting itself to every soil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will seem but little cause for wonder at the splendid accounts which are transmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the first Indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be

* The following observations of Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal, concerning the first process, seem to have been made with great accuracy: "When the indigo plant is committed to cold water in the steeping vat, the following appearances take place: in a few hours a slight motion begins to shew itself throughout the body of liquor—the bulk encreases considerably, with some additional heat; air bubbles are generated, some of which remain on the surface, and gradually collect into patches of froth—a thin violet or copper coloured pellicle or cream makes its appearance between the patches of froth, and soon after, the thin film which forms the covering of the bubbles composing the froth begins to be deeply tinged with a fine blue: the liquor from the beginning will have been acquiring a green colour, and now it will appear, when viewed falling from one vessel to another, of a bright yellowish green, and will readily pass the closest filter until the action of the air makes it turbid, a proof that the base of the colour is now perfectly dissolved in the watery menstruum. This is the time for letting off the vat—the fermentation however continues, and large quantities of froth are formed. The smell now becomes very offensive," &c. &c.

Bancroft on Permanent Colours, Appendix 432.

300lbs.

300 lbs. and the produce no more than 4 *s.* ſterling *per* pound, the groſs profits of twenty acres will be £. 1,200, produced by the labour of only ſixteen negroes, and on a capital in land and buildings, ſcarce deſerving conſideration.

SUCH, without doubt, will be the reader's firſt reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden hopes which ſpeculations like theſe have raiſed in the minds of thouſands, have vaniſhed on actual experiment, like the viſions of the morning. I think I have myſelf, in the courſe of eighteen years reſidence in the Weſt Indies, known at leaſt twenty perſons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was ſituated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined ciſtern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foreſight, and property. That they failed is certain, but of the cauſes of their failure, I confeſs I can give no ſatisfactory account. I was told that diſappointment trod cloſe at their heels at every ſtep. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too ſoon. Now the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To theſe inconveniences, for which practice would doubtleſs have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude: the mortality of the

negroes

negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumſtance, that, as I am informed both by the French and Engliſh planters, conſtantly attends the proceſs) the failure of the ſeaſons, and the ravages of the worm.—Theſe, or ſome of theſe evils, drove them at length to other purſuits, where induſtry might find a ſurer recompence.

THEIR hiſtory, however, furniſhes a new illuſtration to a very trite but important remark, that a manufacture once deſtroyed, ſcarce ever takes root again in the ſame country. Of the cauſes from which the general culture and manufacture of Indigo, was relinquiſhed in Jamaica, enough has been ſaid by other writers: yet the ſame arguments which induced the Britiſh Government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it ſunk, are ſtill urged in the caſe of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, until the ſame fate attends many of them as attended Indigo. Of the monſtrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the Britiſh woollen manufactory, (putting colonial conſiderations out of the queſtion) the Mother Country is, I believe, at length ſufficiently convinced, the quantity of Indigo annually imported into Great Britain, from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and a half of pounds, of which

BOOK V.

which five parts in seven are purchased with ready money of strangers and rivals (*k*)!

(*k*) Soon after the second edition of this work was printed, my learned friend, Dr. Edward Bancroft, F. R. S. favoured the publick with his "Experimental Researches concerning "the Philosophy of Permanent Colours," a work of infinite research and merit; in an Appendix to which, he gives an abstract of a botanical description, by Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal, of a new species of *nerium* (rose bay) found in the East Indies, the leaves of which yield excellent indigo. This account however is chiefly interesting to the planters of the West Indies, as containing some experiments and opinions which lead to an improved method of extracting the common indigo *by means of a boiling process*; for it being found that the leaves of the *nerium* would not yield their colour except to boiling water, it was judged by analogy that the scalding process might be advantageously applied also to the common indigo plant, and the result has exceeded expectation: "by "the scalding process (observes Dr. Roxburgh) I have "always, on a small scale, made from the common indigo "plant, better indigo than I could by fermentation, and in "one fourth of the time; and what is also of great im-"portance, without the smallest degree of the pernicious "effluvia which attends the manufacture of indigo by fer-"mentation; and moreover, the twigs and leaves themselves "of the indigo plant burn fiercely, after having been well "dried, and will carry on the operation without requiring "any great addition of other fuel."

In another place Dr. Roxburgh observes, "that the "Hindoos throughout the northern provinces or circars "make *all* their indigo by means of hot water, and pre-"cipitate with a cold infusion of the bark of the *jambalong* "tree, yet, notwithstanding the inferiority of this bark as an "astringent, when its effects are compared with those of lime-"water, I have always found their indigo to be of a very "excellent quality, and very light; a cubic inch weighing "only

COFFEE.

SO many treatises have been written on the history of coffee; its introduction into the West Indies has been so fully traced by some writers, and its properties so ably investigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moseley) as hardly to leave me the possibility of offering any thing new on those subjects. The few observations therefore which I shall present to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and these being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford some useful information. CHAP. IV.

The

" only about 110 grains, and being of a blue violet colour. " The superior quality of this indigo must alone be imputed " to the nature of the process by which the colour, or " rather base of the colour, is extracted from the plant; for " their apparatus is very inconvenient."

" Besides the superior quality of the indigo obtained by " the scalding process, the quantity is generally increased by " it; moreover the health of the labourer in this way is not " endangered, as in the fermenting process, by constant and " copious exhalations of putrid miasma: the heat employed " expels most of the fixed air during the scalding, which " renders a very small degree of agitation, and very little of the " precipitant necessary. The operation can also be performed " two or three times a day upon a large scale; and lastly, the " indigo itself dries quickly without acquiring any bad smell, " or putrid unwholesome tendency."

Surely these observations deserve the most serious attention of the planters in the British West-Indies!

BOOK V.

The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the Weſt Indian to that of Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the publick are amuſed on this ſubject, ariſe from affectation, I have not a doubt. At the ſame time, it muſt be admitted that the charge is not entirely without foundation, inaſmuch as the Weſt Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the Weſt Indies ſo bigotted to his own poſſeſſions, as wholly to deny.

But the notion that the coffee itſelf is naturally inferior to that of the Eaſt, as being the production of a coarſer and leſs valuable ſpecies of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circumſtance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from the "Weſt Indies, and raiſed in Engliſh hot-houſes, "coffee berries have been produced, which, at a "proper age, were found to ſurpaſs the very beſt "Mocha that could be procured in Great Bri-"tain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the ſoil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flouriſhes moſt on

on a ſandy ſoil, or on mountainous ſlopes, which give an eaſy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of chooſing ſimilar ſituations in the Weſt Indies (if a ſmall berry, beſt ſuited for the Engliſh market, is expected) is juſtified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A RICH deep ſoil, frequently meliorated by ſhowers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans, which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is ſingular, however, that the North Americans prefer this ſort to any other, and, as they have hitherto been the beſt cuſtomers at the Weſt Indian markets, the planters naturally enough have applied their labours to that cultivation which turned to the beſt account.

HAPPILY for the coffee planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the Engliſh market, by a prudent conceſſion of Government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and exciſe on the importation and conſumption of Britiſh plantation coffee in Great Britain were no leſs than 480 per cent. on its then marketable value. Under ſuch exactions, its cultivation in our ſugar iſlands muſt (but for the American market) have ſhared the ſame fate as that of Indigo. The great and important reduction of one ſhilling a pound from the exciſe duties, created an immediate and wonderful

BOOK V.

change; and while it promoted the intereſt of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the ſtate; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increaſing the ſum total of the duties (though reduced two-thirds) from £.2,869. 10*s.* 10½*d.* to £.7,200 15*s.* 9*d.*; an important proof, among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpoſe!

As the Britiſh demand has thus increaſed, ſo, on the other hand, the American has declined, having, as I conceive, been transferred in a great meaſure to the foreign iſlands. It is now therefore become the intereſt of the planter to change his ſyſtem, by ſuiting the nature of his commodity to the taſte of his new cuſtomers.

This, it is true, is not within the power of every man, whoſe plantation is already ſettled, to accompliſh; but aſſuredly it is a very important object to ſuch perſons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation (in a country, where every ſpecies of ſoil, and choice of ſituation, may be found) to know beforehand how to employ their money and labour to the greateſt advantage.

Coffee indeed will thrive in every ſoil in the Weſt Indies; a cold ſtiff clay, and a ſhallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the

the leaves turn yellow, and the trees perifh, or produce nothing; but the beft and higheft-flavoured fruit is unqueftionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a fandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almoft every ifland of the Weft Indies, Jamaica efpecially. Frequent fhowers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and perifh.

If the land be frefh and naturally good, coffee plants may be fet out at all feafons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any fituation, provided it be fcreened from the north winds, which often deftroy the bloffom; and fometimes, in the after part of the year when thofe winds prevail moft, entirely ftrip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blafting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The ufual mode of planting is, to line out the land into fquares of eight feet; in other words, to fow the feeds, or fet out the young plants, eight feet diftant from each other on all fides, which gives fix hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are eafily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be fet out are generally felected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the furface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire

 as

as poſſible. The holes in which they are ſet, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the ſtem and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the ſurface. But, although eight feet be the uſual diſtance of ſetting out the plants in all ſoils, it is frequently found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, ſo cloſely intermingled together, as to impede the free paſſage of the air: In ſuch caſes it is thought adviſeable to cut down every ſecond row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the ſtumps, they will furniſh a ſucceſſion of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left will bear much better for the room which is given them. Old plantations (or *walks* as they are called) cut down in this manner, not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the ſecond year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and moſt approved ſyſtem is to keep the trees perfectly clear of ſuckers, and to rear one ſtem only from one root. If, therefore, a healthy ſhoot ſprings near the ground, all the original plant is cut off cloſe above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well covered. At the height of five or ſix feet, which the plants generally attain the third year,

8 the

the trees are topped. At this height, a ſingle ſtem gives from thirty-ſix to forty-two bearing branches, and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but thoſe branches.

FROM what has been ſaid concerning the effect of a difference of ſeaſons, it muſt be difficult to fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation by the acre. In rich and ſpungy ſoils a ſingle tree has been known to yield from ſix to eight pounds of coffee: I mean when pulped and dried. In a different ſituation, a pound and a quarter from each tree, on an average, is great yielding; but then the coffee is infinitely better in point of flavour. The following is, I believe, on a medium, as accurate a calculation as the ſubject will admit. Coffee trees raiſed from old trees, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the ſecond year from the new growth 300 pounds weight *per* acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raiſed from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting; when they will yield very little; the fourth year, about 700 pounds. The average annual produce *per* acre after that period, if the walk is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds: and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

We are now come to the moſt important buſineſs of the coffee planter, *i. e.* the gathering in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia, according to Le Roque, is as follows:—"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they ſpread cloths under the trees, which they ſhake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards ſpread upon mats, and expoſed to the ſun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a conſiderable time; after which, the beans are extricated from its outward incumbrance by the preſſure of a large and heavy ſtone roller, when they are again dried in the ſun; for the planters conſider, that, unleſs coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for ſale."

It cannot be denied that this ſimple method muſt be infinitely ſuperior to any other for preſerving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the Britiſh market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which ſo tedious a method would neceſſarily require. The uſual practice in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is as follows:—

As ſoon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this buſineſs are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occaſionally into a baſket, and if he be induſtrious, he may pick three buſhels in the day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too faſt, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that caſe be mixed with the ripe. The uſual practice is to pick the trees at three different ſtages of ripeneſs. One hundred buſhels in the pulp, freſh from the tree, will give about one thouſand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in uſe of curing or drying the bean: The one is, to ſpread the freſh coffee in the ſun, in layers about five inches deep, on a ſloping terras, or platform of boards; *with the pulp on the berry*, which in a few days ferments and diſcharges itſelf in a ſtrong acidulous moiſture, and in this ſtate the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The huſks are afterwards ſeparated from the ſeeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be deſcribed, or frequently by pounding them with peſtles in troughs or large wooden mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four

four *per cent.* heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to *remove the pulp* immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done by means of a pulping mill, confifting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank or handle, and acts againft a moveable breaft-board, which being fitted clofe to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from paffing whole. The mill is fed by a floping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical fliding board. By this fimple machine a negro will pulp a bufhel in a minute. The pulp, and the bean (in its parchment fkin) fall promifcuoufly together. The whole is then wafhed in wire fieves, to feparate the pulp from the feeds, and thefe are immediately fpread open to the fun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the fubject of thefe two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the moft profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the beft flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might eafily

eaſily be done at the expence of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the teſt of good coffee, is conſidered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been ſufficiently cured. From both methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful aſſiſtance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have deſcribed the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment ſkin, or membrane which immediately envelopes the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will alſo ſeparate, at the ſame time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted) much more expeditiouſly than the peſtle and mortar.

The grinding mill conſiſts of a perpendicular axis, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the ſurface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or ſweeps, tenanted into the axis, and ſtretching ſome feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of conſiderable weight, moving round in the trough, bruiſe the ſkins of the coffee, ſo as to render them ſeparable by the fan,

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fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears ſufficiently bruiſed, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee from the chaff, and the ſeeds remaining unground are ſeparated by ſieves and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is ſtill another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of ſtoves. But it is practiſed by very few planters; it requiring an expenſive apparatus in the firſt place, and in the ſecond, it is ſaid that the ſmoke of the fire gives a diſagreeable ſmell and taſte to the berry. I know not if this aſſertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the ſmell or taſte of any thing near it, ſooner than coffee.

For the ſame reaſon it is a matter of great conſequence that proper care ſhould be taken, in ſhipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ſhip where it may receive the effluvia of other freight. "Coffee berries (ſays Dr. Moſeley) are remarkably diſpoſed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and diſagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a ſhort time ſo impregnate the berries, as to injure the taſte in a high degree, and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few

a few bags of pepper on board a ſhip from India, ſome years ſince, ſpoiled a whole cargo of coffee."

The few preceding obſervations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry. I ſhall conclude the ſubject by offering a ſhort eſtimate of the expences and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of induſtry, and of courſe to the increaſe of white population in the Weſt Indian iſlands, than that of any other of their ſtaple commodities; its produce being more equal and certain than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more conſiderable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if ſuch were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the Britiſh Weſt Indies. This objection has been anticipated and anſwered by what has been related of the heavy exciſe duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To ſay (as is commonly ſaid in the caſe of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the conſumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in conſequence of the duties, becomes ſo high as that the conſumer ceaſes to purchaſe, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator, as if they fell immediately on himſelf.

Nothing

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Nothing more clearly demonſtrates that the cultivation of this article was greatly affected by the Britiſh duties, than the comparative quantities imported into France and England; the whole annual import into Great Britain, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787), not exceeding five million ſix hundred thouſand pounds weight; whereas the iſland of Hiſpaniola alone has produced an annual ſupply of ſeventy million of pounds and upwards.

It is likewiſe apparent, that ſince the reduction of the duties in 1783, the cultivation of coffee in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in Jamaica eſpecially, has made a more rapid progreſs than in thirty years preceding. Yet, (as Dr. Moſeley has obſerved) even the preſent duty of ſixpence *per* pound is too high to admit the general uſe of this fragrant beverage among all claſſes of people. What then muſt be thought of the former exaction of three times that duty, which continued for fifty-one years? So little has the ſcience of colonial commerce been underſtood or adverted to!

Estimate of the Expence and Return of a Coffee Plantation in the mountains of Jamaica, fourteen miles from the sea, calculated in the currency of that island, being forty per cent. worse than sterling; viz.

	£.
First Cost of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one-half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at £. 3 *per* acre - - - - -	900
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at £. 70 *per* head - - - - -	7,000
Ditto, of 20 mules, at £. 28 - -	560
Buildings and utensils, mills, and negro tools - - - - -	2,000
Expence of maintaining the negroes the first year, before provisions can be raised (exclusive of other annual expences charged below) £. 5 each -	500
	10,960
Compound interest for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 *per cent.* - - - -	2,093
Carried over - -	£. 13,053

Brought over -		£. 13,053

ANNUAL EXPENCES; viz.

White overseer and maintenance	£.200	
One other white servant - -	70	
Medical attendance on the negroes	25	
Negro-supplies, viz. clothing, tools, salted fish, and other provisions, exclusive of the produce of their own grounds	200	
Colonial taxes - - -	100	
	595	
	3	
Total for three years, before any return can be expected - -	1,785	
Compound interest, as it arises in the several years - -	221	
		2,006
Total Expence - -		£. 15,059

Returns the fourth year, at £. 4 per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

		£.
From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs.		1,800
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year - -	£. 595	
Sacks and saddles - - -	40	
		635
Clear profit (being equal to £. 7. 14 *s.* *per cent.* on the capital) -		£. 1,165

Returns

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Returns the fifth and subsequent years; viz.

150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. *per* acre, 112,500 lbs. at £. 4 - - -		£. 4,500
Deduct annual charges, as before	£. 595	
Sacks and saddles - - -	80	
Repairs of mills, &c. - -	100	
		775
Clear profit (being equal to $24\frac{3}{5}$ *per cent.* on the capital) - -		£. 3,725

‡‡ It ought to have been observed in the first edition of this work, that I am indebted for the estimates in this and the two preceding pages, to my worthy friend SAMUEL VAUGHAN, Esq. of St. James's parish Jamaica, Member of the Assembly of that island, who has directed his attention to the cultivation of Coffee with great assiduity and success. He has since favoured me with the following interesting observations, which I have great pleasure in laying before the publick:

OBSERVATIONS concerning the cultivation of COFFEE in St. Domingo, and its probable increase in Jamaica, if the Slave Trade shall not be abolished by Act of Parliament.

THE French part of St. Domingo, in 1770, exported only five millions of pounds of coffee, but in 1784, a bounty of 40 livres *per* ton having been allowed to slave vessels arriving from

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by ſuppoſing the conſumers to be augmented by new and numerous people. On this ſuppoſition, it is impoſſible to foreſee the extent to which the cultivation of this article in the Weſt Indies may be carried. It is not enough to ſay, it will equal that of ſugar, nor is it likely, as in the caſe of ſugar, to be checked by importation from the Eaſt, inaſmuch as it has riſen to its preſent wonderful importance in the Weſt Indies, notwithſtanding the rivalry of both the Eaſt Indies and the Levant.—The diminution of the quantity of coffee produced in St. Domingo (upwards of one thouſand coffee plantations having been deſtroyed) will moſt certainly be felt in a remarkable manner for ſome years to come: many perſons from thence are of opinion, that the exportation will be reduced at leaſt one half (that is, forty millions of pounds) ſuppoſing even that the preſent rebellion was to terminate without further devaſtation. The export from the whole Britiſh Colonies in 1787 did not amount to four millions of pounds; and therefore, excepting by new cultivation, they cannot ſupply the deficiency occaſioned by the troubles in St. Domingo, nor is the reſt of the Weſt Indies able to make it up; for ſince theſe troubles, the price has augmented near one-fourth, viz. from 70*s.* to 90*s.* This advance of price will, if not (as in former times) checked by additional duties, be a premium to all Weſt

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India Iflands where there are mountains; and, as cultivation cannot be carried on in St. Domingo, for fome time, to its former extent, for various reafons, it is likely to be a premium of fome degree of permanency. Let us now turn to Jamaica: the export of coffee from thence, before 1783, never exceeded 850,000 pounds, notwithftanding the feveral meafures that were taken by the Affembly to encourage its cultivation. The reduction took place in 1783, of the excife, to 6½*d. per* pound, and this feems to have had an immediate influence; for at the fourth year from this event, when we fhould naturally expect the firft appearance of an effect, there was a confiderable increafe of export; and in three years more, the produce was nearly trebled, it exceeding 2¾ millions. In this fituation we ftood when the difturbances took place at St. Domingo: it is now fixteen months fince the commencement of that rebellion, and by the returns juft made from the feveral parifhes, it appears, that 21,011 negroes are employed in the cultivation of coffee in Jamaica. I will fuppofe, however, that one-fourth of thefe may be engaged in other objects connected with coffee, ftill there will remain 15,759 negroes employed folely in raifing of this article: who, according to common calculation, when the plants are all at full growth (viz. in 1797) fhould make a return of about fixteen millions

millions of pounds; that is above eighteen times as much as was produced before 1783, and seven times as much as was produced laſt year. It may be added, that the lowlands of Jamaica are already ſettled, the highlands, generally ſpeaking, are improper for ſugar, but proper for coffee; they are new, they are equal to near two thirds of Jamaica: the iſland is now well interſected with roads, &c. &c. In ſhort, the country is prepared, and the time is proper for it.

FROM all theſe circumſtances, taken together, it is reaſonable to conclude, that if labourers ſhall continue to be procured from Africa at moderate prices, and every advantage be made of the preſent moment, we ſhall eſtabliſh in Jamaica a moſt extenſive cultivation of coffee, which, as an export ſtaple, will be of the utmoſt conſequence to Great Britain, perhaps, exceeding in value the ſtaple of ſugar. But this new and important commerce is entirely dependent on a continued importation of labourers. The increaſe of the cultivation of coffee to the extent here ſuggeſted is, in the preſent times, of peculiar conſequence in two other points of view: Firſt, it will augment the number of that middle claſs of Whites who, though not rich enough to live in a diſtant country, are ſufficiently opulent and independent to ſupport their families in comfort and competence in a reſidence on their own

 eſtates;

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eftates; fecondly, mountain fettlements in general increafe in Negro population, being more healthy than the lowlands. The firft circumftance will add to our fecurity, fo neceffary at prefent, and which, at all periods, we have in vain attempted, by other means, to effect. The fecond opens a profpect of an abolition of the Slave Trade, and that at no diftant period of time, by natural caufes, which will gradually take place without giving reafon for complaint to any body of men.

Jamaica, 1793.

HAVING thus copioufly treated of the cultivation of thofe products which chiefly give value and importance to the Britifh colonies in the Weft Indies, and contribute, in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce, and navigation of the parent ftate, it is the lefs neceffary for me to dwell at great length on minor ftaples; yet thefe cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehenfive furvey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be confidered as unimportant, except by comparifon with thofe rich and profitable commodities of which fo much has been faid in this and the preceding chapters. The remaining

remaining claſſes, of which I ſhall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnotto*, *aloes*, and *piemento*. As my obſervations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a ſyſtematical deſcription of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

CACAO.

THE cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholeſome and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is ſaid to have been originally conveyed to Hiſpaniola from ſome of the provinces of New Spain; where, beſides affording to the natives an article of nouriſhment, it ſerved the purpoſe of money; and was uſed by them as a medium in barter; one hundred and fifty of the nuts being conſidered of much the ſame value as a *royal* by the Spaniards. From this circumſtance it ſeems probable, that if the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Aſia, they muſt have detached themſelves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from ſome ſociety which had made but moderate advances in civilization.

AMONG the Spaniards, with whom the cacao ſtill forms a conſiderable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following manner.

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Having chosen a spot of level land (a deep black mould is preferred) sheltered round with a thick wood, so as to be well screened from the wind, especially the north, and caused it to be cleared from all manner of stumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet distance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and six or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having selected the largest and fairest pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a vessel of water. Such of them as swim are rejected; the others, being washed clean from the pulp and skinned, are suffered to remain in the water till they begin to sprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or some other large leaves, and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, so as to line it round; leaving however the sides of the leaf some inches above the ground, after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, till the hole is filled. He then selects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a small opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downwards from which the sprout issues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a small stone on the top to prevent its opening. In

3 this

this manner he plants his whole walk, or orchard. At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to riſe above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to ſhelter them from the ſun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpoſe thoſe of the palm kind are generally choſen (for having a ſtrong ſtem, they are eaſily fixed in the earth) and they are changed as often as they decay, for the ſpace of five or ſix months. It is alſo thought adviſable to plant ſome other tree (the erythrina or bean-tree is generally choſen for this purpoſe) to the ſouth-weſt of the cacao plant, which may grow up with it, and ſerve it for ſhelter;—for it muſt always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flouriſh only in the ſhade.

If all the three nuts placed in each hole ſpring up, it is thought neceſſary, when the plants are eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they ſpread different ways, are ſometimes ſuffered to remain; but it ſeldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reaſon of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection: it then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty pounds weight,

weight, according to the ſoil and ſeaſons; and it will ſometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the ſame delicacy of ſtamina which marks its infancy, is viſible in all the ſtages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and ſhrinks from the firſt appearance of drought. It has happened that the greateſt part of a whole plantation of cacao trees have periſhed in a ſingle night, without any viſible cauſe. Circumſtances of this nature, in early times, gave riſe to many ſuperſtitious notions concerning this tree, and, among others, the appearance of a comet was always conſidered as fatal to the cacao plantations.

In ſpite however of the influence of comets, and notwithſtanding the care and precaution that are requiſite in the firſt eſtabliſhment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extenſive and ſucceſsful in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, for many years after they had become ſubject to the Britiſh government. Blome, who publiſhed a ſhort account of Jamaica in 1672, ſpeaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "there are, ſays he, in this iſland, at this time, about ſixty cacao walks (plantations) and many more now planting." At preſent I believe there is not a ſingle cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few ſcattered trees, here and

and there, are all that remain of thoſe flouriſhing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boaſt of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of miniſterial exaction. The exciſe on cacao, when made into cakes, roſe to no leſs than twelve pounds twelve ſhillings *per* cwt. excluſive of eleven ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny, paid at the cuſtom-houſe; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty *per cent.* on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped that the error of impoſing ſuch heavy impoſitions on our own colonial growths, is at length become ſufficiently manifeſt.

After all, there is reaſon to apprehend that our ſugar iſlands can never again enter into competition with the Spaniſh Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At preſent the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both thoſe iſlands cannot, I believe, be eſtimated on an average at more than four thouſand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thouſand pounds ſterling *(f)*.

(f) The cacao tree, both in ſize and ſhape, ſomewhat reſembles a young *blackheart cherry*. The flower is of a ſaffron colour,

BOOK V.

GINGER.

THIS grateful aromatick root had a very early introduction into Hispaniola, and I should not have supposed it an exotick, but that Acosta relates it was conveyed from the East Indies to New Spain, by a person named Francisco de Mendoza.

If

colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green state are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine bluish red, almost purple, with pink coloured veins. This is the common sort; but there is a larger species, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again inclosed in a white pulpy substance, soft and sweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment shell. These nuts, being first simply dried in the sun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the shell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally used under this name in England, appear to me to be composed of not more than one-half genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Castile soap*. Considered medicinally, chocolate is said to be too heavy for weak and relaxed stomachs; but in the West Indies, experience abundantly demonstrates that it is in the highest degree balsamick and restorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the first white person born after the conquest of the island by the English, lived to the great age of one hundred and four, and for the last thirty years of his life used scarce any other food than chocolate.

If ſuch was the fact, the Spaniſh Americans muſt have entertained very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very ſhort ſpace of time; it appearing from the ſame author, that no leſs than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the black and the white; but the difference ariſes wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preſervation by means of boiling water, the latter by inſolation; and, as it is found neceſſary to ſelect the faireſt and ſoundeſt roots for expoſure to the ſun, white ginger is commonly one-third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater ſkill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the ſame manner; but is fit for digging only once a year, unleſs for the purpoſe of preſerving it in ſyrup. In that caſe, it muſt be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender, and full of ſap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable ſweetmeat; but it is too well known to require deſcription.

It ſeems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of uſe in Europe, and its cultivation in the Weſt Indies decreaſes in conſequence. The average quantity exported annually from the Britiſh

Britiſh iſlands may be ſtated at ten thouſand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a very ſmall part from Dominica) is raiſed in Jamaica. Its medium price at the London market, is forty ſhillings the hundred weight *(g)*.

ARNATTO.

THIS production is indigenous, and was called by one claſs of Indians roucou, and by another achiotte. Of its preſent name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is bixa orellana. It is a ſhrub which riſes to the height of ſeven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of a cheſnut. Within theſe are thirty or forty irregularly figured ſeeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleaſant ſmell, in appearance like the ſort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was uſed by ſome tribes of the Indians, in the ſame manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

OF the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, becauſe moſt of the arnatto, ſhipped at preſent from our own iſlands, is I believe gathered

(g) Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one cwt each, and 8864 lbs. in caſks.—An acre of freſh land, with favourable ſeaſons, will yield about 140lbs. annually.

from

from trees growing ſpontaneouſly. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is ſimply by boiling the ſeeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the ſeeds are taken out, and the water left undiſturbed for the pulp to ſubſide. It is then drawn off, and the ſediment diſtributed into ſhallow veſſels, and dried gradually in the ſhade.

Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spaniſh Americans with their chocolate; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They ſuppoſe that it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, ſtops fluxes, and abates febrile ſymptoms; but its principal conſumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers *. I am informed that it is ſometimes uſed by the Dutch farmers, to give a richneſs of colour to their butter, and very ſmall quantities of it are ſaid to be applied in the ſame manner in Engliſh dairies. On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not ſufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

* The liquid ſold in London by the name of "Scott's nankeen dye," is ſaid to be arnatto, diſſolved in water by means of pot-aſh.

Bancroft's Philoſophy of Colours.

A L O E S.

The most valuable ſpecies of aloes is that of the iſland of Socotora in the Eaſt Indies, the introduction of which in our Weſt Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The ſpecies called the hepatick, is the only ſort known to our planters, and even of this, the cultivation in the Britiſh dominions is, I believe, at preſent, wholly confined to the iſland of Barbadoes, where it is ſaid to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by ſuckers, and will thrive in ſoils the moſt dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows:

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleanſed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then ſliced, and cut in pieces, into ſmall hand-baſkets or nets. Theſe nets or baſkets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and freſh parcels ſupplied, till the liquor is ſtrong and black.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a ſtrainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where it is left to cool, and to depoſit its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron veſſel.

At firſt it is boiled briſkly, but towards the end the evaporation is ſlow, and requires conſtant ſtirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the conſiſtence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabaſhes, for ſale, and hardens by age.

PIEMENTO, or ALLSPICE.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the moſt elegant productions in nature; a production which rivals the moſt valuable ſpecies of the Eaſt, combining the flavour and properties of many of thoſe ſpices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable ſubſtitute, and ſuccedaneum for them all.

THE piemento trees grow ſpontaneouſly, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly ſituations near the ſea, on the northern ſide of that iſland; where they form the moſt delicious groves that can poſſibly be imagined; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very diſtant part of the globe, to our great poet's deſcription of thoſe balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

> "Sabean odours from the ſpicy ſhore
> Of Araby the bleſt.———
> Chear'd with the grateful ſmell, old ocean ſmiles."

BOOK V.

THIS tree is purely a child of nature, and ſeems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raiſe them from the ſeeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing ſpontaneouſly, having ſucceeded. The uſual method of forming a new piemento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called *a walk)* is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of wood land, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already exiſting, or in a country where the ſcattered trees are found in a native ſtate, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are ſuffered to remain on the ground, till they become rotten and periſh. In the courſe of twelve months after the firſt ſeaſon, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorouſly in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries ſcattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both ſhelter and ſhade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleanſing, leaving ſuch only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then ſoon form ſuch groves as thoſe I have deſcribed, and, except perhaps for the firſt four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I DO not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young piemento.

piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, fmooth and fhining, and altogether free of bark, rifes to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all fides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, fomewhat like thofe of the bay-tree; and thefe, in the months of July and Auguft, are beautifully contrafted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable, that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told, yield in diftillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly ufed, in the medicinal difpenfaries of Europe, for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in bloffom, the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being fuffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that ftate, being moift and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and, when dry, becomes black and taftelefs. It is impoffible however to prevent fome of the ripe berries from mixing with the reft; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is confiderably injured.

It is gathered by the hand;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the fmall branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries; and an induftrious picker will fill a bag of 70lbs. in the day. It is then fpread on a terrace, and expofed to the fun for about feven

days, in the courſe of which it loſes its green colour, and becomes of a reddiſh brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

THE returns from a piemento walk in a favourable ſeaſon are prodigious. A ſingle tree has been known to yield 150lbs. of the raw fruit, or one cwt. of the dried ſpice; there being commonly a loſs in weight of one-third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the Britiſh market, as may be ſuppoſed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for ſome years paſt, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty, which is three-pence. THIS, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however ſo little profit to the owner, compared with that of ſome other productions, that the growth of piemento decreaſes every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about ſix thouſand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.

CHAP. IV.

I HAVE now finiſhed all that I propoſed to offer on Weſt Indian productions and agriculture. The ſubject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myſelf, I have no doubt that I have exhauſted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten, however, that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not ſtrewed with roſes, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almoſt untrodden. In ſuch a purſuit, I may perhaps be content to give up all pretenſions to the happy talent of blending pleaſure with inſtruction, ſatisfied with the homely praiſe of being uſeful to the moſt uſeful part of the community *.

* To the productions of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, imported into Great Britain, might be added *turmerick*, *cinnamon* and *cloves*. Plantations of each are eſtabliſhed ; but they are yet in their infancy. Enough however has been produced of each of thoſe commodities, and the quality ſuch, as to demonſtrate that they can be raiſed in our ſugar iſlands, in as great plenty and perfection as in any part of the world.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.

CONTAINING

Some Account of the Cultivation of the CLOVE TREE, *in the Iſland of Dominica, by William Urban Buée, Eſq. of that Iſland; from a Memoir preſented by him in* 1796 *to the Lords of the Committee of Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations.*

BOOK V.

ABOUT the month of July 1789, a friend of mine in Cayenne ſent me, as a preſent, a clove tree about ſix inches high, having ſix or eight leaves, and accompanied with a printed paper reſpecting the cultivation of it. It was required by my friend's paper, that the tree ſhould be planted in a rich ſoil, and in a moiſt and cool ſituation, and in the ſhade of ſome trees round it. It was alſo obſerved, by my friend, that the tree would thrive beſt, if it were planted between four plantain trees. The continent of Cayenne being free from hurricanes, and the iſland of Dominica being, on the contrary, expoſed to them, I thought that the plantain trees were of too tender a nature to afford a ſufficient ſhade; becauſe with the leaſt guſt of wind they might fall on the clove tree and deſtroy it: in conſequence, I ſelected one of the richeſt ſpots on my eſtate, being a rich black ſoil, where I had ſixteen thouſand coffee trees growing moſt luxuriantly; between four of thoſe coffee trees I planted my clove tree with great care; I ſurrounded it with ſticks to prevent it from being trod upon; the coffee trees ſerved as a ſhade, and my intention was, when the clove tree ſhould

extend itſelf, to lop or cut down the coffee tree neareſt to it. Every poſſible care was taken of this plant; it was kept clean, and every time I went on my eſtate I viſited it; knowing of what conſequence it would be to the publick in general, and to me in particular, if I could bring this experiment to ſucceed. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed with what anxiety I viewed the growth of the plant; but, alas! what was my grief, when I found the clove tree hardly vegetating, loſing its old leaves, as new ones ſprung at the top; and, in the long ſpace of near ſix months, not gaining an inch in height: diſappointed in my hopes, I informed my friend of the little ſucceſs I had had, and intreated his aſſiſtance in procuring other trees, if poſſible. In the month of December 1789, two more trees were ſent to me. From my firſt diſappointment, I wiſhed to plant theſe new trees nearer to my houſe, and in a place that would be convenient for watching and promoting their growth. My dwelling-houſe is ſituated on a hill, to the eaſtward, which hill is compoſed of a ſtiff, red-clay ſoil; at the foot of this hill, and on the eaſt ſide, is ſituated my garden; to obtain a flat of about one hundred and twenty feet ſquare, one part of that hill has been dug and levelled, which in ſome parts has made a bank of nearly eleven feet high; the ground was ſpread over, in order to fill up the inequalities of the ſurface: it will readily be obſerved how poor ſome part of that ſurface muſt be, particularly on that ſide, where eleven feet were cut from the hill. Here, I planted the above mentioned two trees, but, at the ſame time, took care to place them as far as I could from that ſide of the hill, which had been pared down, as I had obſerved its ſoil was a ſtiff, red-clay; I therefore dug two holes at about twelve feet from each other, of about eighteen inches diameter, and two feet deep; finding the ſubſtratum to be of a yellow, ſtrong, gravelly nature, I filled up theſe two holes with ſome good mould, and in each of them I planted a clove tree; they grew faſt and with luxuriance;

BOOK V.

which induced me to tranſplant the firſt clove tree I had received into the ſame garden, obſerving the ſame treatment; but whilſt that tree was growing to my ſatisfaction, an inſect deſtroyed the top of it, and occaſioned its death.

In the month of November 1791, being at Martinico, I viſited the different gardens in and about the town of Saint Pierre: as I was walking in the garden belonging to the Dominican friars, I remarked ſeveral young clove trees, each in a ſeparate baſket; they were the property of a gardener from Cayenne, and were to be diſpoſed of. I purchaſed the whole of them, conſiſting of fourteen trees: after collecting, from the generoſity of my friends, different other plants, I returned to Dominica, rich with my new acquiſition of clove trees, and determined to try different ſoils. Holes were dug in ſeveral parts of my garden, from twelve to fourteen feet diſtance, and of about the ſame dimenſions as thoſe mentioned before: on examining the ſoil, I found ſome of a ſtiff gravelly nature; in other parts, the ſubſtratum was of a yellow ſandy kind; in ſome holes, after taking out about ſix inches of the ſurface, I found a ſtiff red-clay; mixing ſome black mould with the different earths taken out of theſe holes, I filled them up, and planted in them ten out of the fourteen trees, reſerving four trees for that part of the garden nearer the foot of the hill, where ten or eleven feet had been cut from the ſurface; there I dug no more than was neceſſary to plant my trees: the ground was a cloſe, compact, ſtiff, red-clay. In order to make an experiment, I mixed no mould, dung, ſand, or other ſoil, with deſign to open the pores of the clay, but planted theſe laſt four trees in that clay, without the aſſiſtance of any thing whatever; abandoning their fate to nature, being reſolved to run the riſk of loſing them, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining, whether the clove tree required a rich ſoil or not. At the moment I now write, (October 1793,) twenty-three months have elapſed, ſince the

planting

planting of these last fourteen trees; and it is with satisfaction I can assert, that the four trees, which were planted in the clay, have grown, with at least as much, if not more luxuriance, than the other ten: they are from five to six feet high, growing with vigour, fully furnished with branches at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, like a pyramid: out of those fourteen trees, six of them were planted in a row, in the flattest part of the garden; the ground, with which the holes had been filled up having sunk a little below the surface, a hollow round three of these trees was formed, and the water, not having a sufficient current, collected round them: one tree died; the other two appearing to be in a declining state, I raised them above six inches, that they might be rather above the surface of the ground. Although these trees were planted with the others in November 1791, one of the two declining trees is not above six inches high, and the other twelve inches, whilst the other trees are three feet in height; this is a sufficient proof, that the clove tree requires a dry situation, and dreads a springy damp soil; though a certain degree of moisture will promote its growth. APPENDIX.

In the month of January 1793, with much trouble and expence, (I say trouble, because the exportation from the French islands is prohibited), I procured two boxes of *mother of cloves* *: the berries were packed, some in sand, others in loose earth: upon receiving them, I ordered beds to be prepared in my garden, and in different parts of my estate, for the conveniency of transplanting, and of saving distance, when the nurseries should be fit for that purpose. I planted these seeds at about six inches distance, covering them with about one inch of earth. I had been previously told, that the clove tree, when young, requires to be sheltered from the sun; but reflecting on the latitudes of Cayenne, and of the Moluccas, which are under the fourth and fifth degrees, the one north, the other

* Berries of the clove tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

south,

south, and the latitude of Dominica, which is between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees north, I knew that ten degrees would make a material difference in the climate, particularly on Montpellier estate, which is situated on an elevated situation, and about three miles distant from the sea. I thought, that if I could rear those seeds without the assistance of any shade, they would, from their infancy, be inured to the sun and air, would be more hardy, and consequently, would bear transplanting with less risk and danger; but in this I was deceived. The mother of clove, on its first visible vegetation, appears like a small, straight, red dart; when it comes to two inches high, two small red leaves are seen on its top; on the first appearance of these leaves, when hardly perceptible to the naked eye, I found, that on the sun shining with any degree of heat, the plants drooped and perished; whereby many seeds were lost: I therefore caused small frames to be erected over all the beds, about three feet high from the ground, and I spread on them plantain leaves, in order to shade the young plants: I kept supplying those leaves for near nine months; after which time I suffered the leaves to decay gradually, that the sun might be admitted to the plants, as they acquired strength; and in the space of twelve months, they were fit to be transplanted. Out of six thousand mother of cloves, I saved from fifteen to sixteen hundred trees, which I began to transplant in January 1794, in the open field, at sixteen feet distance. They are growing very luxuriantly: I have lost but few, and none but such as were in places, where the water collected. They are now fifteen months old, from the day they were transplanted, and most of them are between three and four feet high, apparently very healthy. The ground, wherein they are planted, had been under coffee for forty years; the coffee trees had decayed, which I tried in vain to replace, but they would not grow. Being disappointed, I turned it into a pasture, which, from neglect, was covered with guava bushes, a plant very

very prejudicial to any ſoil; I then reſolved to clear it, and plant my clove trees in it. This paſture ground, on the whole, is of a compact, ſtrong, gravelly ſoil; in ſome parts it is of a clayey nature; but the trees grow well in both. APPENDIX.

As Abbé Raynal has been very exact in his deſcription of the clove, I ſhall adopt the ſame from his hiſtory. "*The flowers of the clove tree are diſpoſed in a corymbus* "*terminalis; they have each of them a long quadrifid* "*calix, which bears as many petals, and a great number* "*of ſtamina; the piſtil, incloſed at the bottom of this calix,* "*becomes along with it an oviform fruit, filled up with a* "*ſingle kernel, and known by the name of mother of clove;* "*this ſame calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals* "*and the fecundation of the piſtil, is the clove as ſold in the* "*ſhops. The clove is fit to be gathered when it has ac-*"*quired a reddiſh caſt, and a certain degree of firmneſs.*" The two clove trees, which I planted in December 1789, appeared with clove buds, on or about the 20th January 1795; ſome of the cloves were fit to be gathered in May and June following; and ſuch of the cloves as were left on the trees for the purpoſe of obtaining the mother of cloves, for ſeeds, acquired a proper degree of maturity, in July and Auguſt: ſo that allowing thoſe two trees to be about one year old, when they came to me, from the ſeeds, which I planted, I judge they were of that age; I think the clove tree becomes productive, in the courſe of little more than ſix years, inſtead of nine years, as mentioned by Abbé Raynal.

I have this year (1795) but two clove trees that are bearing; in the year 1796, I ſhall have twenty-four more; and in the year 1799, I ſhall have from fifteen to ſixteen hundred trees, in a ſtate of production. Such of the trees, as are ſituated in flat grounds, I ſhall leave to their natural growth, by which more profit will be got, and ſhady walks obtained, an object of conſideration in a warm climate; and thoſe trees that are placed on a decli-

vity,

vity, I ſhall top at eight or nine feet, for the convenience of gathering. Having few cloves to gather this year, (1795), they were picked with the hand. In the Moluccas, the planters either ſpread cloths on the ground, or ſweep the ground clean under and about the trees, and with the aſſiſtance of reeds they cauſe the cloves to fall down; after which they expoſe them, for a few days, to ſmoke upon hurdles, which are covered with large leaves; and this fumigation is followed by drying the cloves in the ſun.

In order to aſcertain the beſt mode of rendering the cloves merchantable, I tried ſeveral ways of deſiccating them when gathered. The firſt, that I cured, in the ſhade, and in a warm room, were a fortnight before they appeared dry; and on breaking them with the nail, the ball, which is on the top of the clove, I found in the inſide to be mouldy; and on chewing the clove, they had a muſty taſte: I from theſe circumſtances found, that this mode of curing the cloves would not anſwer.

The ſecond gathering of cloves, I deſiccated entirely by the heat of the ſun. When dried, they appeared of a blacker hue than the Eaſt India cloves, but, of a ſtronger and more pungent taſte.

The third trial, after gathering the cloves, on a very rainy day, I put them in a ſtove which I had conſtructed for that purpoſe, and left for two nights and a day: the heat was rather ſtrong, and the rainy weather having prevented me from going to town, hindered me from getting a thermometer to aſcertain the degree of heat of the ſtove. At the end of the ſecond night, I took the cloves from the ſtove, and completed the deſiccation by the ſun; which operation, when perfected, gave the cloves a browniſh hue, a good pungent taſte, but not ſo ſtrong a flavour, as thoſe that had been deſiccated by the ſun only.

The fourth deſiccation was nevertheleſs done in the ſame way; but, having got a thermometer, I obſerved this

this difference: After putting my green cloves in the ſtove, I took care that the heat was more moderate than that of the third trial; I left the cloves in the ſtove for only one night, and half a day, until they were faded, and had acquired a brown colour. I hung my thermometer in the ſtove, and found the heat to vary from 120 to 130 degrees: this done, I took out the thermometer, and let the heat decreaſe to the uſual degree of my eſtate, which was, on that day, ſeventy-ſix degrees; after this, from one o'clock to two, I expoſed the thermometer to the ſun; the day was fair; and the thermometer getting up to 128 degrees, this ſhewed the heat of the ſtove to be nearly equal to that of the ſun. After taking the cloves out of the ſtove, the reſt of the deſiccation was done by the ſun. I found theſe cloves, when perfectly dry, to be of a browniſh hue, not ſo ſtrong in taſte as thoſe deſiccated by the ſun only, but ſtronger than thoſe that had been, for two nights and a day, expoſed in the ſtove to a greater heat than theſe laſt. Having ſet aſide the firſt curing by the ſhade, I have numbered the cloves that underwent the three laſt deſiccations, No. 1, 2, and 3: the perſons, to whoſe judgment theſe ſpecimens will be ſubmitted, will decide on the beſt quality amongſt the three ſorts; all of which are far ſuperior in their ſtrength, and pungency, to thoſe that come from the Eaſt Indies, and appear to me to contain a great deal more eſſential oil: for, when expoſed to heat, on preſſing the nail on a clove, the eſſential oil is perceived to come out of it; which is not the caſe with the Eaſt India cloves, at leaſt ſuch as I have bought, in this iſland, for the purpoſe of comparing them with mine.

In curing the clove, I find it indiſpenſable to have a ſtove, for the following reaſons: After gathering cloves, I perceived that if they were not, within a ſhort time after ſuch gathering, faded, either by the heat of the ſun, or by that of a ſtove, that the greateſt part of the cloves, on being dried afterwards, acquired a light browniſh hue,

hue, loſt their firmneſs, ſtrength, or pungency; and many appeared as damaged cloves, and, as the weather is exceedingly variable in this part of the world, and the air, in general, damp, particularly in the country, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a ſtove heated to the degree before mentioned, and to leave the cloves in it till they are faded, I mean, until they have acquired a brown hue; after which, the reſt of the deſiccation may be done at eaſe, by the heat of the ſun, or by expoſure in a dry airy room.

The annual production of a clove tree in the Molucca Iſlands, according to Abbé Raynal's account, is about three pounds for each tree. There, they are topped, at from eight to nine feet, for the conveniency of gathering; but, in Cayenne, where they are left without topping, and where there are clove trees larger than our orange trees, it is reported, they produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree.

The two trees, which, under my management, have produced cloves this year, on the Montpellier eſtate, have netted me four pounds and a half of cured cloves, beſides two pounds, at leaſt, of cloves, which I have left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves, for the multiplication of that ſpice; and beſides this, I have about half a pound of cloves, which having fallen on the ground before their degree of maturity, have been dried, and are very good for domeſtic uſe: theſe laſt are ſtrong, but ſmall; ſo that theſe two trees have produced more than ſeven pounds of cloves. As this is the firſt time of their production, and they are young, it may be reaſonably expected, that when older, they will acquire more ſtrength, and more branches; and conſequently, will be a great deal more productive.

To

APPEN-
DIX.

To the preceding Extract it is thought necessary to add the following Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

Soho Square, August 11, 1796.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to acquaint your Lordship, that I have read with attention the paper on the succesful culture of the clove tree in Dominica, which your Lordship did me the honour of referring to me, and am of opinion, that it ought to be printed for the information of His Majesty's subjects in the West Indies, and other intertropical colonies.

Mr. Buée is, as far as I know, the first person, who has observed, that the pimento tree prospers best in those steril soils where trees whose wood is of a hard texture abound, and that sugar cannot be cultivated to advantage in such places; also, on the other hand, that where trees whose wood is soft, are naturally found, pimento trees rarely are met with, and sugar plantations will succeed; on such steril soils he has tried clove trees, and found them congenial to its nature.

These observations open to the cultivators of hot climates a new source of wealth, which will not probably be confined to the growth of cloves; other spices may also prosper best in the barren soils of the West Indies, as lavender, thyme, and other aromatic plants, are known to do in those of Europe.

I have the honour of sending to your Lordship, with this, a paper containing samples of cloves received by me from Mr. Buée some months ago: Numbers 1 and 2, mentioned by him p. 19, (381.) are mixed; No. 3, his best sort, are separate. Your Lordship may, if you think fit, order a comparison to be made, by some dealers in spice, between these and the cloves we usually receive from the Dutch:

BOOK V. Dutch: I ſhall only add, that when I applied for information on the ſame ſubject to an eminent wholeſale dealer in that article, the only anſwer I obtained, was, that he thought me grievouſly deceived, in ſuppoſing the cloves to be the produce of the Weſt Indies, he being abſolutely certain they came from the Eaſt.

I have the honour to be,
With infinite regard and eſteem,
Your Lordſhip's obedient humble ſervant,
JOS. BANKS.

EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF

The Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAP. I.

Colonial Eſtabliſhments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the uſual Choice of Perſons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and Preſident.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legiſlature.—Its Neceſſity, Propriety, and Legality conſidered.—Some Corrections in the Conſtitution of this Body propoſed.

CHAP. I.

THE Britiſh eſtabliſhments in the Weſt Indies are commonly termed *king's* governments, in contradiſtinction to the *proprietary* and *charter* governments which were known in North America; and, from what has been ſtated in ſome preceding parts of this work, the reader

BOOK VI.

muſt have obſerved, how very nearly their internal conſtitutions conform to that of the mother-country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like thoſe of England, and their legiſlatures, in general, reſpectively conſiſt of three diſtinct branches; *i. e.* a governor, repreſenting the crown, a council or upper houſe, and a body of delegates repreſenting the people at large. The two firſt are neceſſarily imperfect, becauſe they are not independent; but the members of the laſt are more fairly and equally choſen by their conſtituents, than thoſe of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exerciſed by theſe ſeveral branches reſpectively, in their own little ſyſtem, and whence derived, I ſhall now briefly treat. And firſt of the

GOVERNOR.

EVERY chief governor in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great Britain. He receives through courteſy the title of Excellency, and is veſted with the following powers:

FIRST, as captain-general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government (except only when a general officer is employed on the ſtaff) and he commiſſions all officers of the militia. He appoints

points the judges of all the different courts of common law, and even these gentlemen, in all the islands, I believe (Jamaica excepted(*a*)) hold their seats during the governor's good pleasure. He nominates and supersedes at will, the custodes of the several parishes, justices of the peace, and other subordinate civil officers; and although in respect to some of the above appointments and dismissions, he is directed to ask the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inasmuch as the members of this body are themselves liable to be suspended by the governor, on the most frivolous pretences, or even without any cause assigned; a circumstance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his instructions, he can fill up the vacancies *instanter*, with such persons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to summon general assemblies; he appoints the place of their meeting, and when met, he possesses

(*a*) By an act passed in Jamaica in 1781, intituled, "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and respectable," it is declared, that no judge shall be removed but by the king's pleasure, signified under his majesty's sign manual. It is provided however that the governor, with the consent of five of his council, may *suspend*, until the king's pleasure be known, accounting to his majesty for, and delivering to the party suspended a copy of his reasons in writing for such suspension. This proviso seems to me to render this act in a great measure nugatory.

 a negative

BOOK VI.

a negative voice in the legiflature, for without his confent, no bill paffes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone fhall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and diffolve all fuch general affemblies. He has the difpofal of all fuch civil employments as the crown does not difpofe of; and with refpect to fuch offices as are ufually filled up by the Britifh government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the perfons fo appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are fuperfeded at home, and until the perfons nominated to fuperfede them, arrive in the colony. The governor claims the privilege alfo, in extraordinary cafes, and has been known frequently to exercife it, of fufpending fuch civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commiffion from the boards of treafury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate-general, the collectors of the cuftoms, &c. and of nominating other perfons to act in their room, until the king's pleafure fhall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he fhall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in cafes of murder and high treafon; and even in thefe cafes, the governor is permitted to reprieve until the fignification of the royal pleafure.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, the governor has the cuftody of the great feal, and, in moft of the colonies, prefides folely in the high court of Chancery. Indeed, in fome of the Windward Iflands, as we have feen, the council fit as judges in the court of Chancery with the governor: Procefs however is iffued by the governor alone, and tefted in his name; and in general the governor exercifes within his jurifdiction, the fame extenfive powers as are poffeffed by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

THIRDLY, the governor is Ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath alfo the power of granting probate of wills, and adminiftration of the effects of perfons dying inteftate. He grants licences for marriages, and licences for fchools, &c. and is fole judge in all matters relating to the confiftorial or ecclefiaftical law.

FOURTHLY, the governor prefides in the court of Error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of writs of error, from the fuperior courts of common law.

FIFTHLY, the governor is alfo vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As fuch, he is entitled to the rights of *jetfan*, *flotfam*, &c. and in time of war, he iffues his warrant to the

BOOK VI.

judge of the court of vice-admiralty, to grant commiſſions to privateers (b).

LASTLY, a colony-governor, beſides various emoluments ariſing from fees, fines, forfeitures, and eſcheats, has an honourable annual proviſion ſettled upon him by act of aſſembly, for the whole term of his adminiſtration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to proſtitute the dignity of his ſtation by improper condeſcenſions to leading men in the aſſembly, he is reſtrained by his inſtructions from accepting any ſalary, unleſs the ſame be ſettled upon him by law, within the ſpace of one year after his entrance into the government, and expreſsly made irrevocable during the whole term of his reſidence in the adminiſtration. And this, in my opinion, is a wiſe and moſt neceſſary reſtriction.

ARMED with ſuch various authorities, and poſſeſſing ſuch tranſcendent pre-eminence and privi-

(b) It may not be improper to obſerve in this place, that the court of vice-admiralty in the Colonies, by the iv. of Geo. III. chap. 15, is inveſted with a concurrent juriſdiction with the courts of record, in caſes of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the Britiſh colonies in America; and in proſecutions in this court, all queſtions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the intervention of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The coloniſts complain with great reaſon of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their beſt and deareſt conſtitutional rights.

leges

leges as I have defcribed, it is not to be expected, from the common fallibility of human nature, that every colony-governor (placed at fo great a diftance from the mother-country) fhould, on every occafion, *bear his faculties meekly.* Great caution is therefore undoubtedly neceffary, on the part of a Britifh minifter, in the choice of perfons for a truft of fo great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation-governors are invefted being more extenfive than thofe which the laws of England allow to the fovereign himfelf. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit, and connections, are commonly the moft forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a diftant government can prefent himfelf; and that perfons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have fometimes been fent to prefide in our moft important fettlements, as if juftice and publick virtue were beft adminiftered and promoted by men moft diftinguifhed for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the beft protectors of other people's fortunes, who by vice and profufion had diffipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a conftituent part of the legiflature, which has power to controul the adminiftration of executive juftice, and, in moft cafes, has the fole exercife of the vaft and extenfive jurifdiction appertaining to a

BOOK VI.

court of equity, it might be ſuppoſed that a prudent miniſter, among other qualifications in the perſon ſelected, would conſider that ſome little knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of England is indiſpenſably requiſite. It is remarkable, however, that the military profeſſions (which certainly are not eminent for ſuch kind of knowledge) are found to ſupply moſt of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high ſtation. It were unjuſt, at the ſame time, not to allow that ſome of theſe have acquitted themſelves in the civil department with extraordinary reputation and honour. Both the late Sir William Trelawney, and Sir Baſil Keith, who ſucceſſively adminiſtered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet poſſeſſing ſound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant ſatisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the diſapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, ſo long as worthy governors ſhall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind (c).

Bu

(c) Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to loſe, in an untimely grave, their highly-valued and moſt lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain-general of that iſland in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in the

But these are rare instances; and it must generally be admitted, that the appointment to high civil offices

CHAP. I.

the army; and, with the frankness and firmness of the soldier, possessed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as Chancellor surpassed all that the warmest of his friends had predicted. He displayed a calmness of temper, and a clearness of conception, which the captious and subtle perplexities of forensick argument could not disturb or elude. His mind was strong, quick, penetrating, sound, and decisive; but the prominent feature of his character, which displayed itself in all cases and on every occasion, was a manly and unshaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding straight forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favour, or affection. —At his first entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were soon happily experienced, and he then became the most popular of all governors. The Roman people displayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifested by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loss of Lord Effingham. The assembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his Lordship, as they had for those of the Countess of Effingham, who died a short time before him. They likewise ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had the honour of drawing up the inscription thereon; which is as follows:

To the Memory of
THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Island,
in the years 1790 and 1791;
And of KATHARINE his Wife.
The latter, departed this life on the 13th day of
October, 1791,

In

BOOK VI.

offices of men whofe education and paft purfuits have not given them opportunities of acquiring much acquaintance with the principles of our limited government, is a very dangerous experi-

In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
in His Majefty's fhip Diana:
The former, on the 19th of the following month,
The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
with the remains of his beloved Confort,
whom he feemed unwilling to furvive,
And with whom he was depofited in the fame grave.
Thus, united in their lives
by the moft tender and exalted ties,—
He—the fond and indulgent Hufband,
She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
of fo illuftrious a pattern of conjugal affection:
To manifeft the publick fenfe
of the many publick and private virtues of their
refpected Governor;
And to record, for the benefit of pofterity,
The clearnefs of that fagacity,
The extent of that knowledge,
And the purity and firmnefs of that integrity,
which rendered his adminiftration
the boaft and fecurity of a grateful people,
The ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA,
having caufed the remains of this noble and
lamented Pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the publick expence, the whole Houfe
attending each proceffion as Mourners,
As a farther teftimony of merited efteem
Infcribe this Monument.

ment.

ment. Persons of this class, with the purest intentions, are easily misled by selfish and interested men, whom the consciousness of their own deficiencies compels them to consult.—Even while actuated by honest and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the first principles of law and a free constitution, by establishing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can sanctify, Mr. Stokes, the late chief justice of Georgia, relates, that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a British colony) ordered the provost-marshal to hang up a convict some days before the time appointed by his sentence, and a rule of court for his execution. "He meant well, says Stokes, but, being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after sentence, he had power to execute also when he pleased; and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be persuaded, that, by this very act, he was himself committing felony."

An anecdote not less curious than the former is related by the same author of another military governor, who, it seems, took it into his head to suspend a gentleman from his seat in the council, for no other reason than marrying his daughter without his consent.

It may be said, perhaps, that in these cases the mischief to the publick, exclusive of the precedent,

dent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an inſtance, in the conduct of governors, in which ſomething more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant miſapplication of authority. But the taſk is invidious, and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, AND PRESIDENT.

IN a government comprehending ſeveral iſlands, as that of the Leeward Charaibean Iſlands, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain-general or chief governor, a lieutenant-general, who is next in ſucceſſion. He is uſually lieutenant-governor likewiſe of one of the iſlands included within the general government, each of which, in the abſence of the captain-general from that particular iſland, has its affairs adminiſtered by a lieutenant-governor, or the preſident of the council, moſt commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant-governor is on the ſpot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a penſion of 200*l.* a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is ſeldom that a lieutenant-governor is appointed during the reſidence on the iſland of a captain-general, there being no eſtabliſhment or proviſion for ſuch an officer holding a dormant commiſſion; who

who has therefore neither power nor profit. He is not, as lieutenant-governor, entitled even to a ſeat in the council. On the reſignation, or abſence on leave, of the captain-general, a lieutenant-governor, if not preſent, is frequently ſent over, who then ſucceeds to the ſupreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government (*d*).

MR.

(*d*) The following inſtance of miniſterial œconomy may amuſe, but cannot ſurpriſe, my readers in the colonies.—About the year 1767, when the Marquis of Lanſdowne, then Earl of Shelburne, was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordſhip by ſome gentlemen of Jamaica, then reſiding in England, for a proviſion for a lieutenant-governor, who ſhould reſide within the iſland at the ſame time with the captain-general. The reaſon aſſigned was, to prevent a devolution of the government to the preſident of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the meaſure than an unwillingneſs to ſaddle either the mother-country or the colony with additional expence.—But finding, among other emoluments of the captain-general, that he derived about 1000 *l.* ſterling *per annum* from the command of a fortification at Port Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other apppointments of the chief governor to be ſufficiently liberal, his lordſhip ſtipulated with the next governor, Sir William Trelawney, that he ſhould reſign Fort Charles to lieutenant-governor Dalling, on condition of reſidence. Thus were the wiſhes of the gentlemen gratified, and a proviſion made for a lieutenant-governor, without expence either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, conſidering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the miniſter's friend, the conduct of Lord Shelburne in the buſineſs was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the reſult.

Mr. Long is of opinion that a prefident of the council, taking upon him the government on the demife or abfence of a governor or lieutenant-governor, cannot legally diffolve the houfe of affembly, nor iffue writs for calling a new one; becaufe he has no exprefs commiffion from the Sovereign under the great feal of Great Britain, giving authority for that purpofe.

THE COUNCIL.

The members of this board are feverally appointed by the Royal mandamus, directed to the governor, and counterfigned by the fecretary of ftate, and the names of the feveral members for the time being are inferted in the governor's inftructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve*: in fome of the fmaller iflands *ten*, and in cafe of as many vacancies, by death, abfence,

fult. In the adminiftration of Lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demife of Sir William Trelawney, fucceeded to the chief command: and the new minifter, confidering 1000*l.* *per annum* no defpicable object, inftead of continuing Fort Charles as a provifion for a lieutenant-governor, feized on it for his own ufe, and foon after affigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever fince. Thus the Ifland fuffers the fame inconveniency it complained of before, with the burthen of providing 1000*l.* a year for a perfon who neither refides within the ifland, nor has any other connection with it; for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, with whofe very name, it is probable, the principal himfelf is unacquainted.

or

or suspension, as reduce the board under *seven*, the governor or commander in chief is impowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices, are these:

FIRST. They are by courtesy severally addressed, in the colonies, *Honourable*; they take precedency next to the commander in chief; and, on the death or absence of the governor, lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds to the government, under the title of *President*.

SECONDLY. They are a council of state, the governor or commander in chief presiding in person, to whom they stand in the same relation as the privy-council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation-governor is directed by his instructions to advise with his council on most occasions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is absolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act, in most cases, not only *without*, but even *against* their concurrence: he may, it is true, by so doing, incur the king's displeasure; but his proceedings are nevertheless efficient and legal within the colony.

THIRDLY. They are named, in every commission of the peace, as justices throughout the colony to which they belong.

FOURTHLY.

Fourthly. The council, together with the commander in chief, ſit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil cauſes from the courts of record; and in ſome of the iſlands two or more of the members ſit with the governor in the court of chancery, as aſſiſtant commiſſioners of the great ſeal, as I have elſewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are, by the king's order, avoked before his majeſty himſelf in council.

Fifthly. The council is a conſtituent part of the legiſlature; their conſent being neceſſary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legiſlators, they ſit as the upper houſe, and in moſt of the colonies, diſtinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of perſons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter proteſts on their journals after the manner of the houſe of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, uſher of the black rod, &c. &c.

It has been thought ſtrange that one and the ſame body of men ſhould act in two ſuch different capacities and functions, as a privy-council ſworn to ſecrecy and fidelity, and an upper houſe of legiſlature; "the admitting ſuch a diſtinction, ſays a late governor, may be ſuppoſed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as

as counſellors: becauſe their duty to the people, as legiſlators, may ſeem to oblige them very frequently to ſupport opinions repugnant to a governor's ſchemes *(e)*."

But to this it may be anſwered, that if the governor's ſchemes are, in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true intereſts of the people, their oppoſition to ſuch ſchemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity; neither does it neceſſarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have ſworn to keep ſecret.

It appears to me, that the people at large reſiding within the colonies, have much more cauſe of apprehenſion than their governors, from the exiſtence and exerciſe of legiſlative authority, in ſo unſtable a body as the board in queſtion: For although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their reſpective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indiſpenſably neceſſary to their appointment, as in the caſe of members choſen into the aſſembly. Perſons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of intereſts with its inhabitants, and who conſider themſelves wholly at

(e) This opinion of Governor Lyttelton is quoted more at large in the Hiſtory of Jamaica by Mr. Long, vol. i. p. 156.

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the governor's diſpoſal, and bound to ſupport all his meaſures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: From the power which the governors aſſume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of ſuſpenſion, the board has not ſtability ſufficient to inſure reſpect to its reſolutions. It has neither ſtrength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps ſometimes find themſelves in a more diſagreeable predicament than even thoſe who have none; for they may be compelled to vote as a governor ſhall dictate, in ſupport, poſſibly, of meaſures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be expoſed to the affront of publick degradation; to the conſequent malignant miſconſtructions of the vulgar; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a ſtation which ſubjects them to cenſure, for honeſtly diſcharging the duties of it.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the coloniſts at large, from the inefficiency and inſtability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the Britiſh government, not merely to correct exiſting abuſes, but alſo to obviate and prevent (as far as human foreſight will permit) ſuch as may poſſibly or probably happen; many intelligent perſons have been led to controvert the claim of the council altogether

together to a participation in the legiſlature. They deny that this claim derives any juſt ſupport either from analogy to the conſtitution of the parent ſtate, from the royal delegation, or from any law of ſufficient comprehenſion and efficacy to warrant ſuch a pretenſion in a body ſo conſtituted.

The principal arguments which have been advanced in ſupport of this opinion, are to this effect.

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary members of the legiſlature, and ſit in parliament for the ſupport of their own great intereſts and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body between the crown and the people. In civil proceſs their perſons are ſacred, and in criminal, they are tried by their own order. Neither can their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary caſes, and then only by the ſentence of the whole houſe, as a court of the higheſt juriſdiction, or by an act of the whole legiſlature. The ſovereign, it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleaſes, but having once raiſed a ſubject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward, as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded, not on royal conceſſions, but on the ancient fundamental conſtitution of the realm. Thus, the houſe of lords forms a ſeparate branch of the legiſlature, diſtinct from, and entirely independent of,

 the

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the crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now, in all theſe reſpects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or ſimilitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a ſeparate eſtate, and ſupply in the colonies the place of, the houſe of peers in Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itſelf ſufficiently extenſive to conſtitute ſuch a legiſlative branch, or ſeparate eſtate in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legiſlation, but the king has no right to propoſe a law to, or to alter a law propoſed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is not ſo properly a legiſlative power, as a negative on the legiſlation of the other branches; a mere defenſive privilege to enable him to withſtand the encroachments of the legiſlature, and preſerve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he poſſeſſes not himſelf, nothing leſs than a ſolemn and preciſely declaratory law, propoſed by the repreſentatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended, have given the ſhadow of authority to a colonial or provincial council to form themſelves into a diſtinct legiſlative eſtate. It follows, that their claim to legiſlative powers, thus unſupported, is uſurpation and tyranny.

THESE

These arguments, or arguments to the ſame effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica. I ſhall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate diſcuſſion, but content myſelf with briefly ſtating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception) of the pretenſions of this branch to a diſtinct ſhare in colonial legiſlation. If it be ſhewn that the exerciſe of theſe pretenſions may, on ſeveral occaſions, be abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare and ſafety of the community; a very few words will ſuffice on the queſtion of their conſtitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to eſtabliſh in any of the colonial governments *three* diſtinct independent legiſlative powers acting on the ſpot, in the view of forming conſtitutions on the model of England, I do not however believe; becauſe, while the crown retains its neceſſary and conſtitutional right of diſannulling all acts of the provincial legiſlatures, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewiſe exerciſed by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* diſtinct eſtates, inſtead of *three*. The caſe ſeems to have been, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to conſtitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legiſlative authority was at an early period entruſted to the governors and their council,

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acting conjointly, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the representatives of the people on the other. The presence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought adviseable, in the view that the interests of the crown might generally preponderate; while by selecting the members of the council from men of the first consequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived that a salutary check was contrived against those abuses to which power, in the best hands, is sometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies possessed the semblance, at least, of an English legislative constitution *(f)*.

That such was the first intention in the formation of all or most of the king's governments in the plantations (imperfect as the system confessedly is, from the instability of the council) appears from the instance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement still exists; the governor and council, in matters of legislation, constituting, not *two* separate and distinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* constituent branch only, sitting and deliberating together.—And such too, for some years, was the practice of Jamaica, and

(f) Every governor is expressly instructed to transmit from time to time to his Majesty the names of such of the principal inhabitants as are best qualified to supply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any person is appointed who is not previously recommended by the governor.

I believe

I believe of all or moſt of the reſt of the royal governments; but as it ſometimes became neceſſary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the diſpleaſure of the aſſembly from himſelf to the council, declined by degrees attending on ſuch occaſions; leaving it to the board to ſettle matters with the aſſembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, becauſe his abſence removing a reſtraint, gave them the ſemblance of a diſtinct independent eſtate; and the crown, perceiving the utility and advantage of the meaſure, confirmed and eſtabliſhed the practice by degrees in moſt of the royal governments throughout the Britiſh plantations. If the people's repreſentatives had conſidered this excluſive interpoſition of the council as an innovation, *then* was their time to have oppoſed it; but it has not appeared to me that the aſſembly of any one colony, at any one period, denied a right in the council to negative bills in the firſt inſtance, without the governor's conſent or participation. Now the right in the council to reject bills altogether in the firſt inſtance, neceſſarily comprehends the privilege of offering amendments to particular clauſes, (money bills are always, and very properly, excepted) the exerciſe of which privilege is in truth nothing more than an offer of compromiſe between the council and aſſembly.

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The former may say, "we propose such and such amendments; adopt them, or we use our power of rejection." And this I take to be the plain origin and actual rise of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the council-board in every British colony in the West Indies (Barbadoes excepted) of deliberating apart from the governor on all bills sent up by the assembly; of proposing amendments to such bills, and of rejecting altogether, and without any participation with the governor, such of them as they disapprove. Further than this, I do not know that the legislative authority of the council extends, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing the exercise of *such* an authority, when enforced freely and independently, a most necessary and useful expedient, tending to prevent violent and mischievous disputes between the delegates of the people, and the representative of the crown. Its origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption in the colonies for a century at least, and recognition by the crown, have given it such a prescriptive establishment, as I conceive constitutes law *(g)*.

(g) In truth the colonies gained a very important acquisition by this separation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legislation, for, obtaining by this means the semblance of three distinct estates, it enabled them the more easily to secure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws should be immediately in force as soon as consented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

AFTER

After all, the objections which have been made to the present conſtitution of this body, ariſing from its want of ſufficient ſtability and independence, are of an important and ſerious nature. Men are very unfit for legiſlators, whoſe deliberations are liable to be biaſſed by external and improper influence. If, on ſome occaſions, they are inſtruments of good, on others they may prove inſtruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial aſſemblies would take the ſubject into ſerious and temperate conſideration. Were it required by law that no perſon ſhould be appointed of the council who was not poſſeſſed of a landed eſtate within the colony to ſome given value, as an indiſpenſable qualification, ſo that the private intereſts of the members might be blended with thoſe of every other citizen, and were the terrors of ſuſpenſion, which, like the ſword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a reſpectable and moſt uſeful body *(h)*. At the ſame time,

(h) There ariſes, however, ſome difficulty in conſidering this point. While the council are liable to be ſuſpended at the will of an arbitrary and capricious governor (and I remember an inſtance in Jamaica, of ſeven members being ſuſpended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence) their authority is very lightly regarded, and ſometimes they are even treated with contempt and inſult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legiſlative capacity,

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time, it will behoove the reprefentatives of the people, in an efpecial manner, to keep in their own hands, undiminifhed and unimpaired, as a facred depofit, the great and exclufive privilege of granting or withholding the fupplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, fhall once poffefs themfelves of the fmalleft fhare in this moft important of all popular rights, they will become from that moment, a ftanding fenate, and an infolent ariftocracy.

capacity, become formidable both to the king's reprefentative and the people. They might obftruct the fupplies for no better reafon than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they fhould ftill be amoveable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they poffefs at prefent, they fhould be amovable only by the king's exprefs order, in confequence of a joint addrefs from the commander in chief and the houfe of affembly. Their prefent conftitution certainly requires fome correction and amendment; the more fo, as in fome of the colonies they have fet up pretenfions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exercifed the power of arbitrarily imprifoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating publick bills at their board, and even of amending money bills paffed by the affembly. They have alfo claimed the right of appropriating the publick revenue, &c. &c. All thefe, and other pretenfions, are equally inconfiftent with their original appointment of a *council of affiftants*, to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at prefent exift, and ought to be conftantly and firmly refifted by the people's reprefentatives.

CHAP. II (a).

Houses of Assembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of establishing in the Colonies Constitutions less free than that of Great Britain.—Most of the British West Indian Islands settled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and some other Islands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legislatures how constituted, and the Extent of their Jurisdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain how secured.—Constitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

IN treating of the assemblies, or popular branch in the local system of colonial administration, I shall first attempt to investigate the origin of the claim CHAP. II.

(a) In this chapter, the nature and necessary uniformity of my work, compel me to tread over a field wherein the footsteps of a great many preceding writers are still visible. I presume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myself, or give additional weight to those which have been advanced by others, on subjects so well understood, and so frequently and freely canvassed during the late unhappy disputes with America. My aim will be answered, if, instead of originality and novelty, I am found to possess perspicuity and precision. Happily, the great rights of mankind are sufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abstracted hypothesis.

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claim of the coloniſts to legiſlate for themſelves, by means of thoſe aſſemblies, and to diſplay the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother-country. Afterwards, I ſhall enquire by what means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable ſubordination to the Britiſh parliament, are ſecured and maintained.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter, concerning a prerogative in the crown to inveſt the colonial council-boards with ſome ſhare of legiſlative authority, I truſt it will not follow that the Engliſh conſtitution has at any time lodged in the king the ſtill greater prerogative of eſtabliſhing in the Britiſh dependencies, ſuch a form and ſyſtem of government as his Majeſty ſhall think beſt. It is ſurely one thing to ſay, that the crown may introduce into the plantations ſuch checks and controuls as are congenial to thoſe inſtitutions by which freedom is beſt ſecured in the mother-country, and another to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Neverthelеſs, were the maxim well founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the ſyſtem of colonial eſtabliſhments is unlimited, no concluſion could be drawn from it that would impeach, in the ſmalleſt degree, the claim of the Britiſh coloniſts

in America to a Britiſh conſtitution; inaſmuch as the ſovereign, repreſenting the whole nation, has repeatedly recognized in the firſt ſettlers and their poſterity, by various ſolemn grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the ſame liberties, privileges, and immunities, which are poſſeſſed and enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects remaining in Great Britain.

I do not, indeed, know that thoſe grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were eſſentially neceſſary to freedom; for if, as I preſume I have ſufficiently demonſtrated on a former occaſion *(b)*, even a conquered ſtate, retaining its ancient inhabitants, no ſooner becomes ceded to Great Britain, than it is aſſimilated to its government, and imbibes the ſpirit of its free conſtitution;—if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it requires but little argument to prove that Engliſh ſubjects, whether ſettling in countries which their valour has annexed to the Britiſh dominion, or emigrating for the purpoſe of forming plantations on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*, ſo long as they preſerve their allegiance, to at leaſt an equal degree of national protection, with adopted aliens and vanquiſhed enemies. Some of our poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt Indies (Jamaica in particular, as we have ſeen) were obtained by the forces of the ſtate; the indivi-

(b) Book III. c. 2.

duals

duals of which became proprietors of the country which they had conquered. Other countries, as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant and unoccupied, and were made valuable appendages to Great Britain, by the enterprifing fpirit and at the fole expence of a few private adventures. Even where the lands were forcibly taken from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though nothing can fanctify injuftice, yet the Englifh title is unimpeachable by any other European power; and the Englifh nation has received the benefit of the enterprize. Shall it then (to ufe an excellent and unanfwerable argument of Mr. Long on this fubject *(c)* fhall it be affirmed, 'that if Englifh forces conquer, or Englifh 'adventurers poffefs 'themfelves of diftant lands, and thereby extend 'the empire, and add to the trade and opulence 'of England; the Englifhmen fo poffeffing and 'planting fuch territory, ought, in confideration 'of the great fervices thereby effected to their 'nation, to be treated worfe than aliens, to forfeit all the rights of Englifh fubjects, and be left 'to the mercy of an abfolute and arbitrary form 'of government?' Nothing furely can equal the abfurdity of fo favage a doctrine *(d)*!

CONSIDERING

(c) Hift. Jamaica.

(d) "Let us confider (fays Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and fee what power he gets, and over whom.

"Firft, he gets no power by his conqueft over thofe that conquered

CONSIDERING therefore the further difcuffion of this point as fuperfluous, I come to the conclufion which neceffarily refults from the premifes, CHAP. II.

conquered with him. They that fought on his fide cannot fuffer by the conqueft, but muft at leaft be as much freemen as they were before. And moft commonly, they ferve upon terms, and on condition to fhare with their leader, and enjoy a part of the fpoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering fword: or, at leaft, have a part of the fubdued country beftowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be flaves by conqueft, and wear their laurels only to fhew they are facrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by fome, that the Englifh monarchy is founded in the Norman conqueft, and that our princes have thereby a title to abfolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by hiftory it appears otherwife) and that William had a right to make war on this ifland, yet his dominion by conqueft could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons, that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all defcended from them, are freemen, and no fubjects by conqueft; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correfpondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatife of the cafe of Ireland's being bound by Englifh acts of parliament, repeats the fame argument, and illuftrates it as follows. "Suppofing (he obferves) that Hen. II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been oppofed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Irifh that could fuffer by this fubjugation; the Englifh and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born fubjects; they, and their defcendants, could not in reafon lofe thefe for being fuccefsful and victorious; for fo, the ftate of both conquerors and conquered fhall be equally flavifh."

and

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and it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the firſt planters, emigrating to America and the Weſt Indies, all the liberties, franchiſes, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges.* They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expreſſive of a reciprocal relation between the ſovereign and his ſubjects, notwithſtanding their removal, conveying the conſent of the king, as head and repreſentative of the Engliſh ſtate, to their emigration; and aſſuring them, expreſsly, or by evident implication, ſo long as they preſerved their allegiance, the full and undiſturbed enjoyment of thoſe inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminiſh.

SUCH, I conceive, was the ground on which the firſt Engliſh coloniſts claimed, amongſt other rights, the great and important one of aſſenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to ſpeak ſomewhat more ſuitably to the actual ſituation of the people of England, of being bound by ſuch laws only, as in their operation, ſhould extend to, *and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers equally with all the reſt of the*

the kingdom (e): and hence, the eftablifhment in all the Britifh provinces of North America, and iflands of the Weft Indies, of affemblies, or houfes of reprefentatives, which, being freely chofen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occafionally to be refolved into the general mafs, muft neceffarily participate, with a tender intereft, in every thing that concerns the people. CHAP. II.

PERHAPS, inftead of confirming to the colonifts this liberal fyftem of felf-government, it was, or might have been contended on the part of the crown, that the permiffion of returning reprefentatives to the Britifh parliament, was all that on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Chefter might have been adduced in fupport of this argument. Thofe counties being counties pa-

(e) By the principles of the Britifh conftitution, every man fhould be reprefented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is fafely borne, becaufe the intereft of every particular member of parliament ftands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppreffed. In other words, the great fecurity which the people of Great Britain have, that their reprefentatives fhall not abufe their truft, is, *that they cannot impofe on others what they are not to feel themfelves.* 'If an act of parliament was made (fays judge Hobart) conftituting a man a judge in his own caufe, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent fpeech of George Johnftone, Efquire, in the Parliamentary Debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

 latine,

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latine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgeſſes, they were touched and grieved with acts and ſtatutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that all acts and ſtatutes ſo made, "were derogatory unto their moſt ancient juriſdictions, liberties and privileges." Their plea was allowed, and parliamentary repreſentation granted them. It is obſervable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibean Iſlands, as well as ſome provinces of North America, were at firſt created into counties palatine, expreſsly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly conſider the ſubject muſt *now* think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thouſand miles diſtant, was impracticable to any good purpoſe. It is moſt certain, that the Britiſh parliament, from firſt to laſt, conſented that the king ſhould govern his ſubjects in America (ſo far at leaſt as related to their own internal concerns) as he governed his ſubjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their own. Nor, if the election of repreſentatives is "an original right, veſted in, and inſeparable from the freehold," as it hath been pronounced by the higheſt authority *(f)*; and if the impracticability of the coloniſts being adequately repreſented in the Britiſh legiſlature be

(f) Lord Chief Juſtice Holt.

admitted,

admitted, could ſuch a conſent be withheld from them on any principle of reaſon and juſtice; unleſs indeed it be reaſonable and juſt to contend, that the coloniſts, as having, from their remote ſituation, need of *greater* protection than their fellow-ſubjects at home, are on that account entitled to *leſs*.

PROVINCIAL parliaments, or colonial aſſemblies (it matters not by what name they are called) being thus eſtabliſhed and recognized, we ſhall find that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and extent of juriſdiction within their own circle, they have conſtantly copied, and are required to copy, as nearly as circumſtances will permit, the example of the parliament of Great Britain. The freeholders are aſſembled in each town or pariſh reſpectively by the king's writ; their ſuffrages are taken by an officer of the crown, and the perſons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal proclamation, to meet together at a certain time and place in the proclamation named, to frame ſtatutes and ordinances for the publick ſafety. When met, the oaths of allegiance, &c, are adminiſtered unto each of them; and a ſpeaker being choſen and approved, the ſeſſion opens by a ſpeech from the king's repreſentative. The aſſembly then proceed, as a grand provincial inqueſt, to hear grievances, and to correct ſuch publick abuſes as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They commit

for contempts, and the courts of law have refused, after solemn argument, to discharge persons committed by the speaker's warrant.—They examine and controul the accounts of the publick treasurer;—they vote such supplies, lay such taxes, and frame such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exercise the highest acts of legislation; for their penal laws, which the judges are sworn to execute, extend even to life; many persons having suffered death under laws passed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal assent. On the whole, subject to the restriction that their trade-laws are not repugnant to those of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend *(g)*.

THIS

(g) The following account of the proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illustrates this part of my subject, cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every inhabitant of the British colonies.

'To his honour ROGER HOPE ELLETSON, Esquire, his majesty's Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief, in and over this his majesty's island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

'May it please your Honour,

'We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the 'assembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your honour's

THIS restriction was intended probably as an auxiliary to other means for preserving the unity of CHAP. II.

'readinefs to hear, and inclination to redrefs, as much as in 'you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his majefty's 'fubjects, beg leave to reprefent to you one which calls aloud 'for immediate relief, it being in itfelf of the moft dangerous 'and alarming nature, and having already given birth to fuch 'confufions and diftractions in this unhappy country, as have 'not at any time before been known in it.

'Our anceftors, fir, who fettled this Britifh colony, were 'Englifhmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of 'England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could 'forfeit by fettling here. Ever fince civil government was firft 'eftablifhed among us, which was very foon after the reftoration of king Charles the Second, we have enjoyed in this 'colony a conftitution and form of government as nearly refembling that of our mother-country as it was perhaps poffible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our properties, 'fecured to us by the fame laws, have ever been determined 'and adjudged by fimilar jurifdictions, and fuch monies as 'have been neceffary for the fupport of his majefty's government here, have, as in England, ever been raifed upon the 'people with their own confent given by their reprefentatives 'in affembly; our courts of juftice, where life, liberty, and 'property are adjudged, are governed by the fame laws, and 'ftand in the fame degrees of fubordination to one another, 'as the courts which they refpectively ftand for, do in England; our houfe of affembly, as reprefenting the whole body 'of our people, does and ever did hold the fame rank in the 'fyftem of our conftitution, as the houfe of commons does in 'that of our mother-country; here, as in England, our reprefentatives in affembly are the grand inqueft of our community; they have the power, and it is their duty to enquire 'into the corruptions of office, the abufes of government, and 'the ill adminiftration of juftice, and for that purpofe it is

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of the empire, and maintaining the fuperintending and controuling power of the mother-country in matters

'that this body has here, as in our mother-country, ever enjoyed a fuperiority over all the courts of juftice, and a power of examining their conduct; and all judges, magiftrates, and publick officers, have ever been amenable to the affembly, and their conduct liable to its infpection; and here, as in England, we owe it to the wholefome and frequent exertions of fuch a power in the reprefentative body of the people, that we are at this day a free people; without it we can have no fecurity or defence againft the corruption of judges, and the abufes which may happen in every department of adminiftration.

'It is againft a moft flagrant, unprovoked, and unprecedented attack and violation which Mr. Lyttelton, our late chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the people, that we now refort to your honour for redrefs.

'In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, two men who had been committed by the affembly for breach of privilege, and were in cuftody of Edward Bolt, the meffenger of the houfe, by virtue of the fpeaker's warrant, did, in contempt of the power and jurifdiction of the houfe, apply in the firft inftance to Mr. Lyttelton as chancellor, for Writs of Habeas Corpus upon the ftatute of the thirty-firft of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the faid writs, he did, in a court of Chancery which he called for that purpofe, releafe the prifoners, and declare as follows: "That it did not appear to him from the words of any act of parliament, or of any act of the governor, council, and affembly of this ifland, or of his majefty's commiffion or inftructions to his excellency as governor of this ifland, or by any other means whatfoever, that the commitment of the faid Pierce Cooke into the cuftody of the faid Edward Bolt is legal; and his excellency the chancellor was therefore pleafed to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby ordered, adjudged, and decreed, That the faid Pierce "Cooke

matters of trade; but it implies alſo a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part of the Bri- tiſh CHAP. II.

" Cooke be, by the authority of this court, releaſed and " diſcharged from the cuſtody of the ſaid Edward Bolt; and " did alſo make the ſame declaration and order as to the ſaid " Lachlan M'Neil," which orders and declarations of his, ' he did moſt irregularly call decrees, and order them to be ' enrolled among the records of the court of Chancery.

' It is evident from the opinions of the ableſt lawyers in ' England, ever ſince the paſſing of that ſtatute, from the opi- ' nions and declarations of judges, the uniform determina- ' tions of all the courts in England, and the conſtant decla- ' rations and practice of the houſe of commons, that the ſaid ' ſtatute was not, nor could be, intended to extend to com- ' mitments by either houſe of parliament, and that the houſe ' of commons is the only proper judge of its own privileges ' and commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttelton's ' tends, therefore, manifeſtly to degrade the repreſentatives ' of the poople, in the ſyſtem of our conſtitution, from that ' rank and authority which is held by the like body in our ' mother-country, and if ſuffered to remain, would ſubvert ' the fundamentals of that ſyſtem, by giving the court of chan- ' cery a power to controul the proceedings of the aſſembly, and ' by reducing them to a dangerous and unconſtitutional de- ' pendance upon governors, would leave the people without ' that protection againſt arbitrary power, which nothing but a ' free and independent aſſembly can give them.

' Every court of juſtice, from the meaneſt quarter ſeſſion ' up to the two houſes of parliament, has a power of com- ' mitting for contempt, and this power requires no act of ' parliament to confer it, it being incident to the inſtitution ' of every court of juſtice, and neceſſary for its exiſtence, ' for it would be impoſſible to ſupport any authority with- ' out it.

' The courts of juſtice here, ſtanding in the ſame degrees ' of ſubordination to one another, as they reſpectively do in ' England; commitments by the inferior, may be, and fre- ' quently

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tish parliament, not to interpose its authority in matters to which the colonial assemblies are sufficiently

'quently are, examined and determined by the superior courts; 'and as commitments by the house of commons cannot be, 'nor ever were, discharged by any of the inferior courts, so 'this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton stands in our country 'without a precedent, such a thing having never before his 'time been attempted.

'The power of commitment by the house of commons is 'their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, of 'which they are the only competent judges, for they judge 'of these matters by the law and usage of parliament, which 'is part of the common law.

'As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exercise the same 'powers with those they stand for in England, it is surely 'reasonable and just that the representatives of the people here, 'called by the same authority, and constituted for the same 'ends, should also enjoy the same powers with those of Great 'Britain.

'We beg leave to represent further to your honour, that 'by the thirty-first clause of an act of the governor, council, 'and assembly of this island, intituled, "An act for granting a 'revenue to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the 'support of the government of this island, and for reviving 'and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof," which has 'received the royal approbation, it is declared, "That all 'such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time 'esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws 'in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and con'tinue laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for ever;" 'and that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their mi'nutes, considering it their duty to assimilate their proceed'ings to those of the house of commons, have constantly go'verned themselves in cases of commitment, and in the exer'cise of their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of parliament, 'which being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the

'use

ficiently competent. With powers ſo extenſive and efficient, theſe aſſemblies muſt neceſſarily be

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'uſe and benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of 'the above act beyond a poſſibility of doubt.

'This arbitrary meaſure of Mr. Lyttelton, ſo totally unpre-'cedented either in England or here, ſo repugnant to reaſon, 'to juſtice, and law, and ſo evidently ſubverſive of our rights, 'liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be 'conſidered by your honour as it deſerves to be; and as it 'marks that gentleman's adminiſtration with the moſt odious 'colours, ſo, we truſt, that the deſtruction of it will diſtinguiſh 'and adorn your's.

'It is in full confidence of your honour's juſtice and love 'of liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of our-'ſelves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before 'your honour the ill conſequences and injuſtice of the afore-'ſaid determination, and beſeech you, as the only means of 'quieting the diſturbance and apprehenſions they have raiſed 'in the minds of his majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful ſubjects, 'to give orders that the ſame be vacated, and the enrolment 'thereof cancelled from the records of the court of Chancery, 'in ſuch a way, that no traces may remain of ſo wicked and 'dangerous a precedent.'

The preceding application from the houſe of aſſembly having been ſubmitted by the lieutenant-governor to the council for their advice, the board addreſſed him as follows:

'May it pleaſe your Honour,

'We, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the 'council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your honour's meſ-'ſage, laying before us the addreſs of the houſe of aſſembly to 'your honour, taken into our ſerious conſideration the ſub-'ject-matter thereof: we have alſo examined and conſidered 'the proceedings now in the office of the regiſter of the court 'of Chancery, and the determination of his excellency the 'late

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be ſovereign and ſupreme within their own juriſ-
diction; unobſtructed by, and independent of
all

'late chancellor, touching the releaſe of Pierce Cooke and 'Lachlan M'Niel, from a commitment of the aſſembly. Al'though we have the moſt favourable opinion of the late 'chancellor's intention in that deciſion, yet finding that no 'chancellor or judge in this iſland, ever before took upon 'himſelf to make any determination upon a warrant or com'mitment of either branch of the legiſlature, it is with con'cern we obſerve, that ſuch proceeding of the late chancellor 'in ſo new, in ſo delicate a caſe, by diſcharging the ſaid 'Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil from the commitment 'of the houſe of aſſembly, was unprecedented and irregular.

'It is alſo with ſorrow of heart we have ſeen and felt this 'his majeſty's colony, ever ſince that determination, labouring 'under a variety of diſtreſſes, flowing chiefly from the appre'henſions of his majeſty's ſubjects, that the eſtabliſhing a 'precedent of this nature in the court of Chancery, might 'lay a foundation for chancellors and judges of inferior 'courts to interfere in, and to take upon them to determine 'on the privileges of the legiſlative bodies of this iſland.

'Permit us therefore to recommend it to your honour, as 'the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual 'to quiet the minds of the people, to unite the ſeveral branches 'of the legiſlature, and to reſtore peace and tranquillity to 'this country, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the ſaid deter'mination made by the late chancellor, whereby the ſaid 'Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Niel were diſcharged from 'their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be 'brought before you, and in the preſence of the council and 'aſſembly, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the regiſter of 'the ſaid court of Chancery to enter a vacatur on the ſaid 'determination, or otherwiſe reverſe it in the moſt effectual 'manner, ſo that the ſame may not be made uſe of as a pre'cedent in future.'

On receiving this addreſs, the lieutenant-governor came

all controul from without; for nothing can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that a people can be ſubject

into council, and having commanded the attendance of the Aſſembly in the council-chamber, was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech:

'Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen 'of the Aſſembly.

'In conſequence of the addreſſes I have received from each 'of your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determina- 'tion upon record in the office of the regiſter of the court of 'chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedented, 'whereby the minds of the people have been greatly diſquieted, 'and many diſtreſſes and evils have ariſen to this country; 'and having nothing ſo much at heart, as the ſupporting the 'honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting the peace 'and happineſs of the people, I have, agreeably to your re- 'queſts, taken, as chancellor, ſuch order therein, that the ſaid 'proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are vacated, 'annulled, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes what- 'ſoever; and for your further ſatisfaction herein, I have 'ordered the regiſter to attend forthwith in the council- 'chamber with the ſaid proceeding, and the book of 'records in which the ſame are entered, and that he do, in 'preſence of the three branches of the legiſlature of this 'iſland, enter a vacatur in the margent of the ſaid ſeveral pro- 'ceedings, and the entries of the ſame in the ſaid book of 'records, and that he do in your preſence draw croſs lines 'over the ſaid proceedings and the entries thereof, in the 'uſual form and manner.

'This meaſure, adopted upon your united recommen- 'dation, cannot, I am perſuaded, fail of producing every happy 'conſequence, by reſtoring and firmly eſtabliſhing that har- 'mony and unanimity ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, and ſo eſſen- 'tially neceſſary to his majeſty's ſervice, and the welfare of 'this community.'

The

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ſubject to two different legiſlatures, exerciſing at the ſame time equal powers, yet not communicating with each other, nor, from their ſituation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

The regiſter of the court of chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the ſeveral proceedings in the ſaid addreſs mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the preſence of his honour, and in the preſence of the council and aſſembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and draw croſs lines over the ſaid proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the ſeveral papers relating thereto.

☞ It was after a long and arduous ſtruggle, that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no leſs than five different aſſemblies having been called, and abruptly diſſolved, becauſe they refuſed to raiſe the ſupplies, unleſs ſatisfaction was given them in this buſineſs. At length, on a change of miniſters in Great Britain, the Governor (Mr. Lyttelton) deſired to be recalled, and the lieutenant-governor was directed to comply with their wiſhes, in the manner we have ſeen.

The author of this work was one of a ſmall minority in the houſe of aſſembly that ſupported the adminiſtration of Mr. Lyttelton, whoſe abilities and virtues were acknowledged even by his enemies; yet is he free to confeſs, that, being preſent when the proceedings in chancery were ſolemnly annulled and vacated in the manner related, in the preſence of a thouſand ſpectators, he could not but participate in the general triumph and enthuſiaſm which prevailed on that occaſion amongſt all ranks of people. The towns were ſplendidly illuminated, the ſhipping in the ports were dreſſed in their gayeſt colours, and ſuch joy and ſatisfaction appeared in every countenance, as we may imagine were diſplayed by the Engliſh Barons on receiving *magna charta* from the reluctant hand of king John.

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have allotted to the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies, tend immediately to ſovereign and national empire, diſtinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent ſtate. It will be found, however, that the dependency of the colonies on, and their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and alſo their proper ſubordination to the Britiſh parliament, are ſecured by ſufficient ties, regulations, and reſtraints; ſome of which ſeem at firſt inconſiſtent even with the premiſes I have ſtated. Thus, as to the ſupremacy of the crown: among various other prerogatives, the king reſerves to himſelf, not only the nomination of the ſeveral governors, the members of the council, and moſt of the publick offices of all deſcriptions *(h)*, but he poſſeſſes alſo at the ſame time, as we have ſeen, the right of diſallowing and rejecting all laws and ſtatutes of the colonial aſſemblies, even after they had received the aſſent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence, the affirmative voice of the people in their

(h) This is ſpoken of thoſe colonies which are called king's governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, ſubject to the reſtrictions contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. and in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except thoſe of the admiralty and cuſtoms, were choſen by the people.

representatives

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representatives is opposed by three negatives; the first in the council, the second in the governor, and the third in the crown; which possesses likewise the power of punishing the two former branches by dismission, if they presume to act in opposition to the royal pleasure.

Nor is the regal authority less efficient and extensive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legislative. The governor, as I have shewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but whether assisted by his council, or presiding solely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king in council, in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes; and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or sentence of the governor in council, sitting as a court of error *(i)*. The reason assigned in law authorities for allowing such appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of law in the colonies might by degrees insensibly deviate

(i) It is necessary however in either court, First, That in cases of property the matter in dispute should be to the value of £.500 sterling, to be ascertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving security for the prosecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing must proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is dismissed of course. A cause cannot be transmitted for difficulty, but must be determined one way or other.

from

from thofe of the mother-country, to the diminution of her fuperioity *(k)*. CHAP. II.

Again: the king, as fupreme head of the empire, has the fole prerogative of making peace and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign ftates; and the colonifts are as fully bound by, and fubject to, the confequences thereof, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far is readily admitted; but another claim of the crown, fuppofed to refult from the prerogative laft mentioned,—I mean, that of regulating all the colonial military eftablifhments both by fea and land, quartering troops in fuch towns and places in the plantations as the king fees beft, augmenting them at pleafure, and retaining them in the colonies at all times and at all feafons, as well in peace as in war, not only without, but againft the confent of their affemblies, muft be admitted with fome limitation.

It is indeed afferted in all our law books, that the fole fupreme command and government of all the forces by fea and land, and of all forts and places in all parts of the Britifh dominions, ever was, conftitutionally and legally, the undoubted and exclufive prerogative of the crown; but, againft the abufes which might poffibly refult from the exercife of a power thus extenfive and dictatorial, the fubjects refiding within the realm

(k) Vaughan's Reports 402. Show. Parl. C. 33.

have

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have this ſecurity, that their repreſentatives retain in their own hands the means of ſupporting all the Britiſh forces, both maritime and military. Thus, though the king has the prerogative of commanding armies and equipping fleets, yet without the concurrence of parliament he cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but without the aſſiſtance of parliament he cannot carry it on. The royal prerogative in theſe reſpects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ſhip completely equipped, but which the parliament, by drawing off the water, can at pleaſure leave aground.

It ſeems therefore naturally and neceſſarily to follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are entitled to the ſame rights, and to have equal ſecurities for thoſe rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain, there muſt exiſt ſome reſtraint againſt the exorbitance and abuſe of the power contended for in the preſent caſe. It is to little purpoſe to tell the coloniſts, when groaning under the preſſure of military government, that no military force, however legally raiſed and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the ſword will decide upon the queſtion of law *(l)*.

To

(l) It is obſervable, that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commiſſioners appointed, in April 1778, for reſtoring peace in America. In a letter from

To as little purpose may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never suffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be established in any part of the British dominions. They will probably insist, that the British parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at least in the first instance. They may contend that those who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppression, can best determine when it may be proper to resist its attack, or to guard against its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament should be apprised that the just authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into tyranny, it is not only their right, but their duty to interpose, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently said, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain shall be devoted, it is probable her dissolution will not begin in the centre: *she will feel subjection, like the coldness of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.*

Having thus pointed out some remarkable instances of colonial subordination to the king,

from the earl of Carlisle, Messieurs Eden and Johnstone, three of the said commissioners, to the president of the congress, dated the 9th of June 1778, they declare a disposition to concur in such an arrangement as should provide that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

as the sovereign head and supreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I shall proceed to another enquiry, of no less importance (and to which indeed some of the last observations naturally lead) and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons, constitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exercised in supporting the unity of the empire, and preserving that subordination and dependence which the colonists, as fellow subjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that in all societies there must exist somewhere an absolute and despotick jurisdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *absolute* and *despotick* power (says Judge Blackstone) is, by the British constitution, *entrusted* to parliament:" But I conceive that the learned judge has not expressed himself on this occasion with his usual accuracy; inasmuch as all "*entrusted*" authority is necessarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*absolute* and *despotick*." The truth is, that this despotick and unlimited power is reserved by the people in their own hands (not to be resorted to indeed but in the last extremity) and it never was the intention of any society of free agents, from the creation of

of the world to this day, to delegate to any man, or body of men, an abſolute and deſpotick authority in all caſes over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifeſted inſanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, muſt have been void from the beginning.

As the legiſlative power of Great Britain therefore is ſupreme only in a relative ſenſe, even within the realm, where the people themſelves participate in its authority, much leſs can it be ſaid to be ſupreme, *in all caſes whatſoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been ſolemnly declared *by parliament itſelf, that parliament has ſuch a power*: but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not inveſt them with it.

Considering the conſtituent branches of the Britiſh legiſlature ſeparately, it will be difficult to point out any juſt authority whatever, exiſting either in the peers or the repreſentatives of the people over the colonies. We have ſeen that the firſt ſettlers in moſt of the Britiſh plantations, were a part of the Engliſh people, in every reſpect equal to them, and poſſeſſed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were poſſeſſed of, and irrefragably to that great right of conſenting to all laws by which they were to be governed.

 The

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The people of England therefore, or their representatives, having no rights, powers, or privileges to bestow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already possessed of equally with themselves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exercise authority over them.

As to the English peers, they are possessed of very eminent privileges; from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of justice in the dernier resort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no such capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the house of peers having never heard or determined causes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was, and is their duty to serve the subjects within the realm.

THUS, incapable from their situation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the British legislature, the colonists have legislatures of their own, which are subject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The person, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is *their* king; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and commons; to whom they are not subjects, but *fellow* subjects with them to the same sovereign.

JUSTLY considering, nevertheless, the protection

tion which they receive in the name of the ſovereign, *as afforded by the ſtate*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament, is arbiter, controuling and regulating all intercourſe with foreign nations, they readily admit that they ſtand towards the Britiſh legiſlature in the degree of ſubordination, which implies every authority in the latter, eſſential to the preſervation of the *whole*; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother-country and her colonies. "We are (ſaid the Americans) but parts of a *whole*, and therefore there muſt exiſt a power ſomewhere, to preſide and preſerve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the Britiſh parliament." In all matters therefore, to which the local juriſdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the ſuperintending controul of Great Britain is neceſſarily admitted; and they likewiſe admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection *(m)*.

To

(m) The nature and extent of the ſubordination here contended for, was clearly underſtood, and is well explained, in the caſe of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatiſe publiſhed by him ſoon after the revolution.—His words are theſe:

"The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient conceſſions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themſelves by their own ſuffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by ſeveral provinces of France, which nevertheleſs account themſelves ſubordinate to the ſovereign power of the whole ſtate.

"There

To aſcertain the various contingencies and circumſtances wherein, on the principles ſtated, the Britiſh legiſlature has, and has not, a right to interpoſe, is perhaps impoſſible; becauſe circumſtances may occur to render its interpoſition neceſſary, which cannot be foreſeen. "But al-"though it may be difficult (ſays governor Pownall) "to draw the line of limitation, yet ſome ſuch "line there certainly muſt be, and I think thoſe "are not to be heard who affirm, that no line "can be drawn between the ſupreme authority "of parliament, and no authority at all."

NEVERTHELESS, it were not difficult to point out many caſes, and to imagine others, wherein the authority of parliament has been, and may

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which muſt reſide ſovereignly ſomewhere; for there would be ſuch a perpetual claſhing of power and juriſdictions, as were inconſiſtent with the very being of communities, unleſs this laſt reſort were ſomewhere lodged. Now this incommunicable power we take to be the ſupreme judgment of what is beſt and moſt expedient for the whole; and in all reaſon of government, this ought to be there truſted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland ſhould judge of what is beſt for itſelf, this is juſt and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is moſt expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the ſupreme judgment ought to reſt in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whoſe arms and treaſure Ireland ever was, and muſt always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, publiſhed by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

again be, conſtitutionally exerted, in regard to the colonies, without aboliſhing every reſtriction on the part of *governors*, and extinguiſhing every right on the part of the *governed (n)*. Previouſly excluding,

(n) Such is the general ſyſtem of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies; and I will now add ſome inſtances of parliamentary interference, on other occaſions, which I conceive to be conſiſtent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the firſt princes of the Stewart family affected to conſider the plantations as their own demeſnes, with a view of making them a ſource of revenue to themſelves, the commons oppoſed and defeated a claim which, if it had been eſtabliſhed, might have rendered the king independent of the Britiſh parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402.) Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interpoſition on this occaſion. Again, we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of Barbadoes, a great miniſter (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the houſe of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alledged, that the houſe in this buſineſs exceeded the limits of its proper and conſtitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, ſome laws were paſſed by one or two of the provincial aſſemblies, which were ſuppoſed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother-country. This gave occaſion to a clauſe in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22, which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, ſhall be deemed null and void." This, though a ſtrong, was certainly a juſtifiable exertion of Engliſh ſupremacy. By the 6 Anne, c. 30, a general poſt-office is eſtabliſhed in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation; but, as Dr. Franklin obſerved, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another; and as the revenue which it raiſed was conſidered in the nature of a

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excluding, however, every idea of its interposition in the concerns of internal legislation, and all other matters to which the colonial assemblies

quantum meruit, a reward for service (a service too which the colonists were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have sent his letters as before by a private messenger) the act was submitted to. After this, some laws were passed, which were thought to bear hard upon the rights of the colonists. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7. in consequence of some petitions from different bodies of English merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, houses, negroes, and other "hereditaments, and all real estate whatever, should be "liable to, and chargeable with, all debts, due either "to the king, or any of his subjects, and be assets for the "satisfaction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53. "the governors and assemblies of the respective provinces "are restrained from passing any act, order, resolution, or "vote, whereby paper bills, or bills of credit shall be in-"creased or issued." As both these laws were passed in favour of English merchants, who had advanced money for the use of the colonists, it was thought dishonourable to object to the regulations which they established. The laws were therefore submitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legislatures, who considered them as infringing their liberties. Their submission to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted against them, and assigned as the best of all possible reasons for requiring unconditional submission on all other occasions.

From what has been said above, and what will hereafter be stated on the subject of the commercial system, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the boundary contended for, between a constitutional, superintending, controuling power in the British parliament, and a system of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*

are

are ſufficiently competent; for, to the reaſons already ſtated for this abſolute excluſion, may be added, the utter impoſſibility that two different legiſlatures can, at all times, and in the ſame moment, enforce their authority on the ſame object, in as much as they may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this conſequence muſt follow; either the Britiſh muſt yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or conſtitutional unfitneſs of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconſiſtency would render government at once oppreſſive and ridiculous *(o)*.

(o) If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legiſlation of the colonies, ſhe could have had no poſſible right to tax them for the purpoſe of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that ſhe would have had a right to tax them, even if ſhe had poſſeſſed juſt authority to make laws for their internal government. "Taxation (ſaid Lord Chatham) "is no part of the governing or *legiſlative* power. Taxes are "a voluntary gift and grant of the commons *alone*. In legiſ- "lation, the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned: "but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, "is only neceſſary to clothe it in the form of a law. The "gift and grant is of the commons alone." It is unneceſſary to ſay more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, becauſe parliament itſelf (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquiſhed the claim. By the 18 Geo. III. c. 12. the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impoſe any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the Weſt Indies, except for the regulation of commerce: the produce whereof is always to be applied to the uſe of the colony in which it is levied.

BUT,

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But, in a government of which freedom is the bafis, and of which it is the boaft that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happinefs of all its fubjects, it might be fuppofed that no other authority over its dependencies could be neceffary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatnefs fhould contribute, at the fame time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And fuch, before the late unfortunate divifions, was the commercial fyftem adopted by Great Britain, and fubmitted to by her American colonies. To difcriminate the feveral parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of reftriction and monopoly; to fhew that it fecured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which is confiftent with the happinefs and freedom of mankind, (the ends of all juft government); and finally that it might have anfwered, in the fulleft degree, even the objects of revenue and contribution, if Great Britain had happily confined her pretenfions to the limits originally prefcribed by herfelf——for thefe purpofes it would be neceffary to enter into a large and comprehenfive difcuffion, to which the defign of my work does not extend. How far the Britifh fugar iflands conftituted a part of, and were comprized in, the general fyftem, I fhall endeavour to point out in the fubfequent chapters.

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Principles on which the Nations of Europe ſettled Colonies in America.—Commercial Regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admiſſion of foreign-built Veſſels eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Iſlands, and their Value.—The ſame from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of Britiſh Capital veſted in the Sugar Iſlands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Obſervations.—Appendix.

THE eſtabliſhment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (ſays Monteſquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires; but for the purpoſe of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival ſtates. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reaſon, is the leading principle of colonial intercourſe.

THIS account, with ſome little qualification, may be admitted; and a very ſlight enquiry will demonſtrate that it applies as pointedly to the Engliſh,

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English, as to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herſelf the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in ſome caſes, proved more liberal than thoſe of rival ſtates; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was preciſely the ſame: To ſecure to themſelves reſpectively, the moſt important of the productions of their colonies, and to retain to themſelves excluſively, the great advantage of ſupplying thoſe colonies with European goods and manufactures, was the chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the ſeveral parts of this ſyſtem, as adopted by the Britiſh government, and its conſequent train of duties, reſtrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wiſe and politick, as they are evidently ſelfiſh, is a queſtion that of late has been much controverted. But this is a diſcuſſion into which it can anſwer no good purpoſe to enter, becauſe the preſent arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly eſtabliſhed amongſt us to be abrogated; and thus much at leaſt has been truly ſaid in its favour, that it is calculated to correſpond with the regulations of foreign ſtates: for ſo long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themſelves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following their

their example, is to contradict both experience and reafon *.

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OF the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was paffed in the 12th year of King Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be confidered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other provifions, declared,

FIRST, That no goods or commodities fhould be imported into, or exported out of, any of his Majefty's plantations or territories in Afia, Africa, or America, but in fhips *belonging* to the fubjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in fuch as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, fuch plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the mafter are Englifh fubjects, on pain of the forfeiture of fhip and cargo; and all admirals and commanders of king's fhips are authorized to make feizure of fhips offending herein.

SECONDLY, That no perfon born out of the allegiance of his Majefty, who is not naturalized,

* "Free commerce and navigation are not to be given "in exchange for reftrictions and vexations, nor are they "likely to produce a relaxation of them." So fays Mr. Jefferfon, the American fecretary of ftate, in his admirable report to the congrefs of the United States, dated 16 December 1793; wherein the reader will find many deep and important obfervations on the fubject of free commerce, which apply to all the maritime powers of Europe as well as to the ftates of America.

BOOK VI. or made a free denizen, ſhall act as a merchant or factor in any of the ſaid places, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

THIRDLY, That all governors, before they enter into the exerciſe of their office, ſhall take an oath to do their utmoſt, that the above-mentioned regulations ſhall be punctually and *bona fide* obſerved; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, ſhall be removed from his government.

FOURTHLY, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Aſia, and America, ſhall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernſey and Jerſey, or Berwick, in any other ſhips but thoſe *belonging to* the ſaid places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforeſaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ſhip and cargo.

FIFTHLY, That no *ſugars*, *tobacco*, *cotton*, *indigo*, *ginger*, *fuſtick*, or other *dying woods*, of the production of any Engliſh plantation in Aſia, Africa, or America, ſhall be exported therefrom to any place, except to ſome other Engliſh plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradiſtinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

LASTLY, Bond ſecurity is required from all ſhips trading to or in the plantations, and lading on

on board ſuch commodities, for the due obſervance of this part of the law. CHAP. III.

SUCH, together with the conditions under which foreign-built ſhips were to enjoy the privilege of Engliſh ſhips, are the chief reſtrictions and proviſions of this celebrated ſtatute, *ſo far as they relate to the plantation trade*, and they are extended and ſtrengthened by a law which paſſed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are alſo ſworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. 2. c. 7, it is enacted, that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, ſhall be imported into the Britiſh plantations, *but ſuch as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick*; and in *Engliſh-built* ſhipping, (or ſhips taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the mariners are Engliſh, and carried directly to the ſaid plantations. There is an exception however as to ſalt for the fiſheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horſes and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after ſtating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother-country, aſſigns the motive for this reſtriction to be, "the maintaining a greater correſpondence and kindneſs between the ſubjects at home and thoſe in the plantations,

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tations, *keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother-country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and encreafe of Englifh fhipping, vent of Englifh manufactures and commodities*; rendering the navigation to and from them more fafe and cheap, and making this kingdom *a ftaple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but alfo of the commodities of other countries and places for the fupply of them, it being* (continues the preamble) *the ufage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themfelves (a).*

Ten years after this, another act paffed (25 Cha. II. c. 7.) impofing duties on fugar and other

(a) The defign of this act, fays Poftlethwaite, was to make a double voyage neceffary, where the colonies ufed any commodities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but Britifh: for if they could not be fhipped in Great Britain, they muft firft be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would confequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many fhips and failors as muft be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable, that by this act Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods fhall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatfoever, until they have been firft unladen and put afhore in fome port or haven in *England, Wales*, or *Berwick*. By a fubfequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was exprefsly fhut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

commodities

commodities *(b)* exported from one colony to another, and the following is aſſigned as the reaſon: "that the inhabitants of ſome of the ſaid colonies, not content with being ſupplied with thoſe commodities for their own uſe, free from all cuſtoms, had, contrary to law, exported conſiderable quantities to divers parts of Europe, and did likewiſe vend great quantities to the ſhipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of the parent ſtate." For the prevention of this inconveniency in future, the duties in queſtion are laid on the export of thoſe commodities from the plantations; unleſs ſecurity be given to tranſport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the ſame, I believe, as were then paid in England on moſt of thoſe commodities imported for home conſumption. CHAP. III.

THIS act was ſoon found to require explanation and amendment; for the payment of the aforeſaid duties having been conſidered in the colonies as an exoneration from giving ſecurity not to go to any foreign market in Europe; it was provided by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithſtanding the payment of the duties in queſtion, the ſame ſecurity ſhould be given as was required by former acts; and it was enacted and declared,

(b) White ſugar 5 s. and muſcavado 1 s. 6 d. *per* cwt.; tobacco 1d. cotton-wool ½d. indigo 2d. cacao 1d. *per* lb.; logwood £. 5. ginger 1 s. the cwt.; fuſtick, &c. 6 d.

that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations, ſhould, on any pretence whatſoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unleſs the ſame were firſt landed in England, and had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were there chargeable by law.

By the ſame act it is declared, that no goods or merchandize whatever ſhall be imported into, or exported out of, any Britiſh colony or plantation, but in ſhips *built* in England, Ireland, or the plantations, wholly owned by Engliſh ſubjects, and navigated as before; and proviſions are eſtabliſhed concerning the regiſtering of ſhips, to prevent the fraud of paſſing foreign-built ſhips as Engliſh; together with various regulations to prevent counterfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and export to and from the colonies; for all which, reference muſt be made to the act at large, which is ſyſtematick and comprehenſive in a high degree.

These acts therefore, and ſome intermediate ones, which it is not neceſſary to particulariſe, may be conſidered as ſupplemental to the navigation act, and they form altogether the foundation of our colonial code; moſt of the ſubſequent acts now in force, being framed in the ſame ſpirit, and intended to enforce and ſtrengthen the ſyſtem; with ſome few alterations and exceptions only, which however do not extend to any great and

ſubſtantial change in the principle or groundwork *(c)*.

The

(c) The following, I believe, are the chief additions, alterations, and exceptions, ſo far as the Britiſh ſugar iſlands are principally concerned. If the reader is deſirous of the fulleſt and moſt correct information on this head, he is referred to a late Hiſtory of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Eſq. an admirable work, in which the drieſt ſubjects are treated with ſuch clearneſs, preciſion, and elegance, as to render the book not only inſtructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and intereſting.

By ſtatute 3 and 4 Ann, c. 5. Rice and melaſſes were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Iriſh linens, laden in Ireland in Engliſh-built ſhipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann, c. 8. Jeſuits bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the Britiſh plantations, on payment of the ſame duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15. and 7 Geo. II. c. 18. Cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in Britiſh or other ſhips; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. Rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *Non-enumerated* goods (viz. goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18.) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithſtanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a ſubſequent ſtatute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. Sugars, under certain regulations and reſtrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the Britiſh plantations to any port or place ſouthward of

 Cape

THE reader will find that the ſyſtem embraces two diſtinct objects; firſt, the augmentation of our

Cape Finiſterre, and alſo to any foreign port of Europe in licenſed ſhips, which are to call firſt at ſome port in Great Britain.—This was conſidered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were ſo ſtrict and numerous, as to defeat in a great meaſure the intention of the legiſlature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. ſect. 27. Britiſh plantation coffee, piemento, and cacao-nuts are put into the enumeration; as are likewiſe whale fins, raw ſilk, hides, and ſkins, pot and pearl aſhes; and by ſect. 28. ſecurity is required that no iron, nor any ſort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any Britiſh colony or plantation, ſhall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45. by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. Bond is required to be given in the Britiſh plantations, that no rum or other ſpirits ſhall be landed in the Iſle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. ſecurity is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the ſame ſhall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a ſubſequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 52. Any ſort of cotton wool may be imported in Britiſh-built ſhips from any country or place, duty free.

By the 6 Geo. III. c. 49. was eſtabliſhed the meaſure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatſoever (except tobacco), the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay and Roſſeau in Dominica, and into Kingſton, Savanna-la-Mar,

our naval ſtrength, by an entire excluſion of foreign ſhipping from our plantation trade; ſecondly,

CHAP. III.

Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein, among ſundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, viz. St. George, in the iſland of Grenada, and the port of Naſſau, in the iſland of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fuſtick, and other dye woods, hides, and tallow, beaver, and all ſort of furs, tortoiſe-ſhell, mill timber, mahogany, &c. horſes, aſſes, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any *colony or plantation* in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign *European* ſovereign or ſtate, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of ſeventy tons, and provided alſo that ſuch veſſel is owned and navigated by the ſubjects of ſome foreign European ſovereign or ſtate. It is permitted alſo to the ſame deſcription of perſons and veſſels to export from theſe parts Britiſh plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval ſtores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a ſubſequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the reſtriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign veſſels is taken off, but theſe veſſels are ſtill limited to one deck.

The next great meaſure was, the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was firſt partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo. III. c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourſe

 with

BOOK VI.

condly, the ſecuring to Great Britain all the emoluments ariſing from her colonies, by a double monopoly over them: *viz.* a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain; and a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can ſerve any uſeful purpoſe to the mother-country) is to be no where but *to* Great Britain. On the ſame idea, it was contrived that they ſhould ſend all their products to us *raw*, and in their firſt ſtate; and that they ſhould take every thing from us in the laſt ſtage of manufacture.

Most of our commercial writers, and many of our ſtateſmen, have conſidered the two great leading principles above-mentioned to be ſo cloſely interwoven together, and dependent on each other, as not to be disjoined without violence to both; whereas, in truth, the monopoly of our colonial products, and the advantages ariſing from the ſupply of the wants of the coloniſts, might not only be ſupported, even though foreign-built veſſels

with the colonies, both in reſpect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only that the goods ſo imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and ſubject to the ſame ſecurities, regulations, and reſtrictions as in Great Britain; a condition to which the Parliament of Ireland conſented, by paſſing an act impoſing duties on the imports, conformable to thoſe of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, ſince the independence of the United States, will be diſcuſſed in a ſubſequent chapter.

vessels were incorporated into the great body of our shipping, but it may eventually happen, that both our trade and navigation would be greatly improved and extended by such a measure *. CHAP. III.

THAT the maintenance of our naval strength is one of the most important objects to which the British government can direct its attention, no person of common understanding will venture to dispute; and so long as Great Britain can herself furnish shipping on the cheapest terms, sufficient for all the great branches of her commerce, every possible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be given to our own shipwrights, and every discouragement to the participation of foreigners in the ship-building trade: but it is the interest of the merchant to get his freight as cheap as possible; it is equally so of the manufacturer; because every increase in the price of shipping and freight, operates as a tax upon the commodities shipped, and affects the foreign demand in proportion. If therefore, from progressive improvements in our

* "There are some who confound commerce and navigation together, as one and the same thing: but the one is only an instrument of the other, and not always an essential one. Commerce consists principally in the exchange of commodities, if it exists in inland countries, where there can be no navigation. China has a commerce with all Europe extremely beneficial to her, but she has no navigation to any part of Europe. The ships of Europe are her carriers." Smith of S. Carolina.

 agriculture

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agriculture and manufactures, the two great founders and employers of ſhipping, the maritime commerce of all the Britiſh dominions ſhall at any time require a greater number of ſhips than Great Britain and her dependencies can furniſh on any ſaving terms, either recourſe muſt be had to foreign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of Procruſtes, muſt be lopped and ſhortened to make it ſuit the meaſure of our own *(d)*.

NAVIGATION and naval power are the *children*, not the *parents*, of commerce; for if agriculture and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furniſh the ſubject-matter of intercourſe between diſtant countries, there muſt be an end to navigation. The remark therefore of a very diſtinguiſhed ſenator *(e)*, concerning that branch of our commercial ſyſtem of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, "that if

(d) "Can it be reconciled to common ſenſe to aſſert, that if the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 ſail of veſſels every year *gratis*, it would be againſt the intereſt of the nation (as a nation) to accept them, becauſe it might prove detrimental to ſome individuals among us (our ſhipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, conſidered in this extended light, it can never, by parity of reaſon, be admitted in caſes where veſſels can be purchaſed at one-half the price it would coſt to build them."—Vide a ſhort Addreſs from a manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America.—Printed for Stockdale, 1785.

(e) Mr. Burke.

the

the navigation act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose *(f)*."

HAVING

(f) An American writer of a periodical work called the *Museum*, published at Philadelphia in 1791, having been informed, that France had permitted the introduction of American vessels into her trade (in which, however, he was mistaken) expresses the following sentiments; which, to my understanding, convey conviction in every word. "If France "(saith he) had rejected American vessels, she would have "so far sacrificed her carrying-trade to the manufacture of "ships. She wisely purchases, upon the cheapest terms, *the* "*cradles* for her marine nursery. The first and great object "of the maritime powers ought to be, *the increase of the* "*number of their sailors*, which is best done by multiplying the "chances of their employment. Among the means of doing "this, one of the most obvious and rational is, *the multipli*-"*cation of vessels*. The French-built ships cost from fifty-"five to sixty dollars *per* ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, "exclusive of sea-stores, insurance, the charges of lading, "outward pilotage, and other expences incidental to the em-"ployment, and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. "The American live-oak and cedar ships, to which none are "superior, cost in the same situation, from thirty-three to "thirty-five dollars, finished very completely. If the French "require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or in "any term of time, they may be procured in the United "States, on a computation of the medium price of thirty-"four dollars *per* ton, for the sum of 340,000 dollars: but, if "bought at fifty-five dollars, the lowest price in France, they "would cost the much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No "argument is necessary to shew, that such a nation, *cæteris* "*paribus*,

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HAVING obſerved thus much on the leading principles, or general ſyſtem of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be ſeen, I ſhall now proceed to the more immediate object of our preſent reſearches, and endeavour to furniſh the reader with ſome leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, and the commerce which they create; by inveſtigating,

1ſt. THE nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain and her dependencies, for the ſupply of their wants, and the profits of the Britiſh merchants and ſhip owners thereon.

2dly. THE particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of theſe iſlands, annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

3dly. THE value of the ſugar iſlands conſidered as ſo much Britiſh capital.

4thly. A STATE of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the Britiſh ſugar iſlands afford employment.

A FULL

" *paribus*, muſt produce ſeamen more rapidly than thoſe who " refuſe theſe cheap veſſels. It would appear much leſs un-" reaſonable, that the government of the United States ſhould " prohibit the ſale of ſhips (*the means of obtaining naval ſtrength*) " to foreign nations, than that any of them ſhould reject the " great advantage of ſo cheap and excellent a ſupply." Such is the reaſoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, becauſe the circumſtance which gave riſe to them did not exiſt.

A FULL enumeration of the various articles which furnifh the fhips bound to the Weft Indies with an outward freight, would indeed comprife a confiderable proportion of almoft all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the reft of Europe and the Eaft Indies. The inhabitants of the fugar iflands are wholly dependent on the mother-country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegancies, but alfo for the common neceffaries of life. In moft other ftates and kingdoms, the firft object of agriculture is to raife food for the fupport of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the Weft Indies yield a profit fo much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in feveral of the fugar iflands, it is true œconomy in the planter, rather to buy provifions from others, than to raife them by his own labour. The produce of a fingle acre of his cane fields, will purchafe more Indian corn than can be raifed in five times that extent of land, and pay befides the freight from other countries. Thus, not only their houfehold furniture, their implements of hufbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily fuftenance, are regularly fent to them from America or Europe. On the firft head therefore, it may generally be obferved, that the manufacturers

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manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester, the clothiers of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts, the potters of Staffordshire, the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies, for their respective commodities, than perhaps they themselves conceive to be possible. Who would believe that woollens constitute an article of great consumption in the torrid zone? Such however is the fact. Of the coarser kinds especially, for the use of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state; so entirely do these colonies depend on the mother-country; centering in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections. "Why should England (says an "old planter) grudge at the wealth and prosperity of the plantations, since all that is ours "she may account her own, not only because we "are a part of England as it is taken largely, but "also because all comes to the kingdom of England, properly so called? By a kind of magnetic "force, England draws to it all that is good in "the plantations: it is the centre to which all "things tend. Nothing but England can we "relish or fancy; our hearts are there, wherever

"our

"our bodies are. If we get a little money, we "remit it to England: they that are able, breed "up their children in England. When we are a "little eaſy, we deſire to live and ſpend what we "have in England; and all that we get is brought "to England*."

To the laudable reſearches of the lords of the committee of council on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, the publick have been lately indebted for ſuch a body of evidence and information reſpecting the general commerce of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, as could not poſſibly have been collected by any exertions leſs extenſive and efficient than thoſe of government *(g)*. I have frequently had recourſe to their lordſhips report in former parts of this work, and ſhall refer to it on this occaſion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in the year 1787 (ſince which time they certainly have not diminiſhed) amounted to £.1,638,703. 13*s.* 10*d.* the whole of which (except about £.200,000) conſiſted of Britiſh goods and manufactures. The exports for the ſame year to Africa, which, with all ſubſequent profits, muſt be charged to the ſame account,

* *Groans of the plantations,* publiſhed the latter end of the laſt century.

(g) Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the Slave Trade, 1789.

amount

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amount to £.668,255. 14*s.* 4*d.* (*h*). Befides this, the coft is to be ftated of manufactures and provifions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores; the fame having hitherto been purchafed by Britifh capitals, and conveyed to the Weft Indies in veffels trading circuitoufly from Britifh ports, and the returns likewife made, for the moft part, to Great Britain. For the fame reafon, the coft and freight of lumber, fifh, and other productions of America, both from the American ftates and the Britifh provinces, tranfported from thence to the Britifh fugar iflands, in Britifh veffels, muft likewife be added to the eftimate.

Concerning Ireland, I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an Appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the Britifh Weft Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return; both in a direct trade. Of the former, the average value is £. 294,353 Irifh, being equal to £.277,218 fterling: the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

(*h*) The goods fhipped for the purchafe of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, conftitute fome fmall part of this; but I make no deduction on that account, becaufe the freight of, and merchants commiffions on, fuch part as are applied to the purchafe of flaves, and the profits on the fale of thofe flaves in the Weft Indies, not being charged in the Infpector General's books, I fet one againft the other.

Of

Of wines, from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly consumption in these islands may be estimated, on an average, at £.30,000.

Respecting America, the supplies that were annually furnished by those provinces which now constitute the United States, were valued, at the places of delivery, at no less than £.720,000 sterling; and they consisted of articles so essentially necessary, that the restrictions to which this trade is now subject (how grievously soever they are felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminished the demand, or lessened the import *(i)*. Official accounts of the present state of this intercourse are no where given to the publick: a retrospective survey of its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the war, will be given in the subsequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from the American provinces which still remain to Great Britain, including Newfoundland; of which, in like manner, no account, that I have seen, has been published. Supposing they were equal in value to the West Indian commodities shipped thither in return (a conjecture probably

(i) Jamaica, for a while, found some resource within itself for staves and lumber; but the country is, I believe, by this time, nearly exhausted of those articles. The profit to Great Britain arising from the freight alone of the whole supply, is stated by the lords of the privy council at £.245,000 *per annum*.

not

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not very wide of the truth) the sum to be charged on this account for 1787, is £.100,506. 17*s.* 10*d.* (*k*).

I SHALL now bring into one point of view the several great items that have been enumerated; adding to the British and Irish supply 20 *per cent.* for the cost of freight and insurance outwards, the charges of shipping, commission to the merchant-exporter in some cases, and the profits in others of the merchant-importer in the West Indies; all which contribute to swell the debt of the planters to Great Britain: viz.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.
Exports from Great Britain, direct - - - - -	1,638,703	13	10	
——— from Ireland - -	277,218	—	—	
	1,915;921	13	10	
Add 20 *per cent.* for freight, &c. &c. - - -	383,184	6	2	
				2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes -				668,255
——— from Madeira and the Azores - -				30,000
——— United States of America - -				720,000
——— British America - - - - -				100,506
Total - -				3,817,867

PERHAPS

(*k*) Much the greater part of this sum is for fish from Newfoundland; the import of that article from thence into the British West Indies, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787, both inclusive) having been 80,645 quintals, worth at the ports of delivery about 17*s.* 6*d.* the quintal.

CHAP. III.

PERHAPS it were no excefs to ftate the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds fterling. Hence then appears the vaft dependence of the Britifh Weft Indian colonies on their parent country, for almoft every thing that is ufeful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was juftly obferved, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that fuch a market for the vent of our manufactures, furnifhes irrefragable proof, that, through whatever channel riches have flowed into thofe colonies, that influx hath made its paffage to the mother-country, "not (continued he) like the dafh of an oriental torrent, but in falubrious, various, placid, and copious ftreams; refrefhing and augmenting fober induftry by additional employment to thoufands and ten thoufands of families, and lightening the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of parifhes to poverty unemployed."

AFTER all, it is not fo much by the exports to, as by the imports from, the fugar iflands, that we are to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly Britifh property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their ftaples are the more valuable, inafmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they fupply the mother-country, not only with what fhe muft

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otherwiſe purchaſe from foreigners for her own uſe, but with a ſuperfluity beſides for foreign conſumption. Let us now then, as propoſed, enquire into the particulars, and eſtimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually ſupplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myſelf, as I have done in the hiſtory of each particular iſland, of the very exact, comprehenſive, and valuable ſtatement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the Inſpector General of the exports and imports, with the marketable prices of each article, and annexed by the committee of the privy-council to their report on the ſlave trade; but I chooſe rather to look to the year 1788, chiefly becauſe the exports of any one year are ſet properly againſt the imports of the ſucceeding one; it being uſual, in moſt articles of Britiſh export to the Weſt Indies, to give twelve or ſixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands in 1788, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the Inſpector General's return *(l)*; but that officer has not, in this caſe, as in the account of the former year, affixed the

(l) Report of the privy-council, part iv.

marketable

marketable prices (*m*). Theſe therefore are collected from the opinions of reſpectable brokers, on a low average of the year; the miſcellaneous articles excepted, which ſtand as ſtated by the Inſpector General with the addition of one-third, being the uſual diſproportion between the actual prices current, and thoſe in the cuſtom-houſe books.

(*m*) The marketable prices, are the current prices after the duties have been cleared, and theſe are paid on importation, except as to the duties and exciſe on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be ſaid to be paid by the planter in the firſt inſtance, as in the former caſe they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the conſumer, as will hereafter be demonſtrated.

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IMPORTS from the Briti

	Cwt.
Sugar, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's - -	- - - - -
Antigua - - - - -	181,813
Grenada - - - - -	193,783
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla - -	164,976
Jamaica - - - - -	1,124,017
Barbadoes - - - - -	110,955
Dominica - - - - -	47,610
	Gallons.
Rum, Jamaica - - - - -	2,917,797
other islands - - - - -	728,645
	Cwt.
Coffee - - - - - -	32,283
	lbs.
Cotton - - - - - -	11,618,382
	Cwt.
Ginger, Jamaica - - - - -	3,892
Barbadoes - - - - -	5,755

Miscellaneous articles valued at the custom-house prices - - -

Add one-third, the usual difference between the prices in t books, and the current prices at market - - -

THE amount is £.6,488,319. 11*s.* 4*d.* and this sum is altogether exclusive of bullion, of which the annual import from these islands into Great Britain is very considerable: it is presumed that, £.320,000 is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of £.6,808,319. 11*s.* 4*d.* I will call it six million eight hundred thousand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the testimony of a merchant

CHAP. III.

...est Indies into Great Britain in 1788.

Cwt.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
242,542 at 47 s.	569,973 14 —	
375,596 at 46 s.	863,870 16 —	
1,288,993 at 44 s.	2,835,784 12 —	
158,565 at 45 s.	356,771 5 —	
2,065,696 - -	- - - - £.	4,626,400 7 —
at 2 s. 2 d. - -	316,094 13 6	
at 2 s. - - -	72,864 10 —	388,959 3 6
at 96 s. - - -	- - - -	154,958 8 —
at 14 d. - - -	- - - -	677,738 19 —
at 30 s. - - -	5,838 — —	
at 44 s. - - -	12,661 — —	18,499 — —
- - - - -	466,322 15 3	
...spector General's } - -	155,440 18 5	621,763 13 10
Total - - £.		6,488,319 11 4

merchant of the first character and ability; who, in his evidence before a committee of the house of commons, has fixed on this sum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the British West Indies for the same year (*n*).

(*n*) See the evidence of George Hibbert, Esquire, merchant in London, before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed to take examinations on the slave trade, 20th March, 1790.

Of the Imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from these islands, in 1788, no account, that I have seen, has been given to the publick. I shall therefore adopt, from the authority of the Inspector General, those of the year preceding; which stand thus:

	£.	s.	d.
To Ireland (o) - -	127,585	4	5
American States -	196,460	8	—
British American colonies	100,506	17	10
Foreign West Indies -	18,245	12	6
Africa - - -	868	15	—
Total	£. 443,666	17	9

Add this sum to the Britsh import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the British West Indies, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is seven million two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and ninepence sterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and 455,000 blacks, being

(o) In official accounts before referred to of the Irish exports and imports, and subjoined at length in an appendix to this volume, it appears that the value of the goods imported into Ireland from the British West Indies, has of late years greatly increased. In 1790 they amounted to £. 169,563. 8 s. 10 d.—in 1791 to £. 218,589. 1 s. 10 d.—and in 1792 to £. 225,774. 14 s. 3 d. These sums are the currency of Ireland.

one

one hundred and eleven pounds for each white person, and thirteen pounds eighteen ſhillings and ſix pence *per* head *per annum*, for man, woman, and child, black and white, throughout all the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

FROM this immenſe ſupply, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in groſs duties, upwards of £.1,800,000 ſterling, excluſive of the duty of 4 ½ *per cent.* collected in Barbadoes, and ſome other of the iſlands, and which being paid in kind, is, I preſume, included in the general imports above ſtated. Of the remainder, we have already ſeen how large a ſhare was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further ſum, not leſs than £.1,037,000, muſt be placed to the ſame account, for freights and inſurance homewards, commiſſions on the ſale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it neceſſarily muſt be, by ſuch a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very ſmall proportion of the groſs returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, moſt of whom are reſident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the Weſt Indies, and partly expended or inveſted in the mother-country; in the one caſe giving

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vigour to industry, in the other upholding the price of British lands, or the credit of the British funds. With great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the house of commons, "that the sugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependent, have become the most considerable source of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother-country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the publick, nor are any interests better entitled to the protection of the legislature, than theirs *(p)*."

I SHALL now state the value of this great property, considered as British capital. In the re-

(p) The following are the particulars of freight and insurance homewards, commissions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Esquire, before referred to, viz.

	£.
Received by the ship owners, for freight homewards, about - - - -	560,000
Underwriters, for insurance - -	150,000
British merchants and brokers, for commissions, &c. - - -	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage	95,000
	£. 1,037,000

port

port of the privy-council, it is eſtimated at ſeventy millions of pounds ſterling, as follows: viz. CHAP. III.

	£.
450,000 negroes at £. 50 *per* head	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utenſils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground, double the value of the negroes	45,000,000
Value of the houſes, &c. in the towns, the trading and coaſting veſſels, and their crews belonging to the iſlands - - - -	2,500,000
Total - -	£. 70,000,000

Another mode propoſed by their Lordſhips of aſcertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchaſe on its annual produce, it being, they obſerve, not unuſual in the Weſt Indies, to ſell eſtates at that price. I think that the ſale of Weſt Indian eſtates at *ten* years purchaſe, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at ſeven millions *per annum*, the reſult, by this mode of calculation, agrees preciſely with the former; a circumſtance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the ſubject will admit: There can be no poſſible inducement to exaggerate, where acknowledged facts are of ſo much weight.

There yet remains to be added a brief ſtate of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the ſugar colonies directly give employment; and it appears that

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that the number of veſſels which in the year 1787 cleared from the ſeveral Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 men, being about nine ſeamen to every 100 tons: an extent of ſhipping nearly equal (as I have elſewhere obſerved) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the ſame time it is not to be overlooked, that the ſeamen ſo employed, being in conſtant ſervice, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the ſeamen employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any ſudden emergency, be added to the naval force of the kingdom *(q)*.

On

(q) The French writers ſtate the number of ſhips employed in *their* Weſt Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their ſeamen at 15,000. The following account of the average imports from the French ſugar iſlands, and the duties paid thereon, was publiſhed in 1785; viz.

		DUTIES.	
130,000 caſks of ſugar valued at	90,000,000 livres.	Droits de domaine d'occident	5,600,000 livres
60 millions of pounds of coffee	45,000,000	Droits d'octroi a l'Amerique	7,344,000
2 millions of pounds of indigo	18,000,000	Duties on ſugar refined in France	4,592,000
1½ million of pounds of cacao	1,000,000	Duties on coffee	750,000
3 millions of pounds of cotton	6,000,000	Duties on indigo	37,500
Total - -	160,000,000	Total - -	18,323,500

On a retrofpect of the whole it may be truly affirmed, that the Britifh fugar iflands in the Weft Indies (different in all refpects from colonies in northern latitudes) anfwer in every point of view, and, if I miftake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purpofes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time eftablifhed. They furnifh, as we have feen, a fure and exclufive market for the merchandize and manufactures of the mother-country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds fterling. They produce to an immenfe value, and in quantities not only fufficient for her own confumption, but alfo for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and moft neceffary commodities, none of which interfere in any refpect with her own productions; and moft of which, as I fhall demonftrate hereafter, fhe cannot obtain on equal terms elfewhere: —accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of thefe articles from one part of her fubjects to another part, not one fhilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Laftly, they give fuch employment to her fhips and feamen, as while it fupports and encreafes her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the fmalleft degree to obftruct, but on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore,

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therefore, that in eſtimating the value and importance of ſuch a ſyſtem, no juſt concluſions can be drawn, but by ſurveying it *comprehenſively*, and *in all its parts*, conſidering its ſeveral branches as connected with, and dependent on, each other, and even then, the ſum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I ſhall conſider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies may be purchaſed cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furniſh no argument againſt the propriety and neceſſity of ſettling colonies of our own; becauſe it muſt be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment: that their coloniſts contribute in no degree, by the inveſtment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the wealth of the Britiſh nation, nor finally do they give employment excluſively to Britiſh ſhipping. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain is dependent on her colonial commerce, it is difficult to aſcertain: If this trade be conſidered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fiſheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a merchant navy on which the maritime ſtrength of the kingdom ſo greatly depends,

pends, that we ſhould ceaſe to be a nation without it (*r*). CHAP. III.

(*r*) The following is a comparative view of the two greateſt branches of the Britiſh commerce; the Eaſt and Weſt Indian trades.

East Indian Trade.	West Indian Trade.
Capital employed. *Eighteen millions.*	Capital employed. *Seventy millions.*
Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. *One million and a half.*	Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the ſeveral branches of ſupply, inſurance, &c. *Three millions eight hundred thouſand pounds.*
Import ſales by the company, and ſales under licence. *Five millions.*	Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and ſhipped to other parts, the profits of which center in Great Britain. *Seven millions two hundred thouſand pounds.*
Duties paid to government, cuſtoms, &c. *Seven hundred and ninety thouſand pounds.*	Duties paid to government. *One million eight hundred thouſand pounds.*
Chartered ſhipping of the company. *Eighty thouſand tons.*	Shipping employed direct. *One hnndred and fifty thouſand tons.*

But the great difference ariſes from the circumſtance that the trade to the Weſt Indies is carried on with our own colonial poſſeſſions, which the ſettlements in the Eaſt never were, nor even can be conſidered.

APPENDIX

TO

CHAP. III. OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VI.

THE following authentick ſtatement of the exports and imports between the Weſt India Iſlands and Great Britain, in the year 1795, was read in the Houſe of Commons by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas, in his ſpeech on the Slave Trade (April 1796.) It diſplays ſuch an aſtoniſhing encreaſe as might appear utterly incredible, were it not recollected that in 1795 many of the French ſugar iſlands were in our poſſeſſion:

1795.	Value in pounds ſterling.
Exports of Britiſh Manufactures - -	3,212,431
of Foreign Manufactures - -	531,000
Total of Exports from Great Britain for 1795 - - - - - - - -	3,743,431
Imports of Weſt India produce into Great Britain for 1795 - - -	8,881,673
Value of Weſt India produce re-exported in 1795 to foreign markets	3,773,000

Mr. Dundas, in the very eloquent ſpeech which he delivered on this occaſion, after introducing the preceding ſtatement, made the following important obſervations:

"If any perſon ſhall tell me, that ſome of theſe advantages would be enjoyed by us even if the Weſt In-

dies ſtood in the ſame relation to this country as America ſtands at this moment, I ſhall readily admit, that as much of this account as ariſes out of the exportation and ſale of our manufactures might poſſibly be the ſame in caſe of a ſeparation. I do not think the manufacturers of America are yet, nor indeed likely to be for a great many years, in a ſtate to rival the manufacturers of Great-Britain. But when I have admitted thus much, it muſt, on the other hand, be allowed, that ſuch an event, beſides the operation it would have on the navigation of this kingdom, would put out of our power the whole produce that comes from the Weſt-Indies, and for which the planters can eaſily find a market elſewhere. Such a conſequence would inevitably follow, and does it not form a moſt important conſideration? We ſhould loſe all the ſurplus which makes ſo great an article in the foreign trade of this country. The whole of that important advantage would, by ſuch an event, be loſt for ever. Such would be one of the conſequences of Weſt-India independance, and ſuch, as I have ſtated, is *de facto* the relative ſituation exiſting between the mother-country and her ſugar colonies.

Is it then, Sir, a crime in any Member of this Houſe in this caſe to talk of policy? Is this the only queſtion from which all conſiderations of policy are to be excluded? Is it a crime in me to call on Gentlemen, who, paſt the levity of youth, have arrived at a more ſober and deliberate mode of thinking, maturely to weigh the conſequences of raſh and intemperate councils on this occaſion. Shall it be ſaid, that I do not conſult the intereſts of humanity, becauſe I, who have attained a more advanced period of life, do not ruſh precipitately on, without clearly ſeeing my way before me?

This leads me, Sir, to another conſideration, which I wiſh to preſs upon the attention of the Houſe,—and this conſideration relates to America. Gentlemen ſhould recollect,

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recollect, that the independance of America is already eftablifhed. The feparation of the Weft-India iflands from the mother-country is, therefore, at this time, a very different queftion from what it would have been, if the connexion between Great-Britain and America had ftill fubfifted;—before Gentlemen permit themfelves to think fuch an event poffible, before they revolve in a fit of generofity, or in a moment of anger, to declare the Weft-India colonies independant, I wifh they would at leaft confider, what fecurity there is, that thofe iflands would continue in that ftate of independance in which we might place them, if they were abfolved from their allegiance and difmiffed from the patronage of this country? I would afk, whether there is no other power in the world to be found, who would ftretch out a fatherly hand for their protection? If, by the egregious folly and the madnefs of this country, fuch an event fhould occur, if any unjuft and intemperate decifion of this Houfe fhould unfortunately produce the independance of the fugar colonies, it is but too probable, that, with exultation over our folly, fome other nation would read fuch a paper as I have this day produced, to demonftrate to the world the confequences of our infanity, by difplaying the extent of *our* loffes, and the magnitude of *their* gains! I feel myfelf impelled, by the importance of the fubject, to prefs this again and again upon the minds of the Houfe, and to inform them how greatly they are miftaken, if they think they are confulting the true interefts of this country in giving the fmalleft encouragement to the moft diftant idea of Weft-Indian independancy!"

Ably as the foregoing confiderations were enforced by the Right Honourable fpeaker, it may be ufeful to fuggeft fome views of the fubject which he omitted,—and,

First,

APPEN-DIX.

First, It is a conclusion not logically just, that, because the commerce of Great-Britain has been prosperous and progressive since the separation of the North-American colonies, it is, therefore, indebted to that separation for any part of its prosperity, and might not have arrived to a much higher pitch if such an event had not happened. Do the American States use none but British manufactures, employ none but British agents, enrich none but British capitalists? Are they not become formidable rivals to us in commercial navigation, and has not France in the present war, found in their neutrality a powerful resource? Their advance in population and wealth, for several years immediately preceding the revolution, was so obvious and rapid, that, considering the drains and burthens which the war imposed, it would be too much to say, that their independance has given a peculiar spur to their advancement, from which Britain, as a trading nation, has derived a compensation for her loss of their exclusive trade. Could any probable expense of their protection have nearly reached the amount of that debt incurred in the war by which they were lost? The arguments by which free trade is usually recommended do not apply to this case. Such arguments imply a general liberation, but here there was no *quid pro quo.* Something, doubtless, was conceded, and nothing obtained in return.

Secondly, Whatever may be determined respecting the advantages which Great-Britain derived from her North-American colonies, no fair conclusion can thence be drawn as to the value of those she possesses in the West-Indies, in so many and such material points dissimilar in nature and situation. So early as the time of Sir Josiah Child, who wrote in 1660, while the colonies of both kinds were yet in their infancy, this distinction was marked; their relative fitness for raising rival manufactures, building rival shipping, and draining the mother-

 country

country of people, are by him ſtated in plain, but forcible, terms. (See Child on Trade. cap. 10.) It ſhould never be forgotten, that the cultivation of the Weſt-India iſlands is entirely devoted to objects which the mother-country cannot produce, yet cannot do without, and which, from their extenſive conſumption, afford the ſureſt means of balancing her foreign trade;—thoſe colonies poſſeſs no excluſive ſhipping, and their acquirements centre, not by indirect channels, but immediately, in the boſom of Great-Britain. Political economiſts may theorize concerning the utility of colonies, and the preference of concentring the national induſtry and wealth, but they forget that ſuch eſtabliſhments are inſeparable from the genius of a maritime people, and eſſential to its proſperity. And, if the comparative merit of colonies be examined, we may ſafely aſſert, that none ever exiſted ſo reconcileable with the beſt principles of political economy as thoſe which the European nations poſſeſs in the Weſt-Indies.

Thirdly, The *independancy* of the Weſt-India iſlands, all things conſidered, is not a ſubject of probable ſpeculation; they are conſtituted for an interchange of excluſive benefits, like that in which they now exiſt, and have hitherto flouriſhed; and Great-Britain would impoſe a taſk upon herſelf greater than any ſhe ever undertook, were ſhe to attempt to counteract their natural bias in that reſpect. Now, if any of our political economiſts ſhould be diſpoſed to maintain, that, in a ſtate of dependance upon ſome other nation, Great-Britain might derive advantages from their commerce, let him be aſked, what benefits did ſhe derive from the trade of Martinique and St. Domingo ten years ago? Thoſe which France enjoyed from her excluſive colonies are ſtated very clearly in the valuable Analyſis of the French Commerce publiſhed about the time of the revolution, by M. Arnould. It is there ſhewn that France imported from her

her colonies a value of about eight millions ſterling, of which ſhe exported about ſix millions, by that, and by that alone, turning the general balance of trade in her favour. After accounting for the rapid progreſs which the commerce of Europe has made in the eighteenth century, that intelligent writer concludes: — "Toutes "ces circonſtances, réunies ont produit la plus grande "activité et une forte émulation dans le commerce des "Européens. Elles ont multiplié les conſommations, et "ce mouvement producteur a *particulierement été favor-"able à la France*, devenue, vers le commencement du "ſiècle, *propriétaire* d'objets nouveaux de conſommation. "Avec *le ſecours des denrées de nos Iſles d'Amérique*, la "France a fondé *une marine coloniale importante*, elle a "fait ainſi valoir les marchandiſes navales du Nord, pen-"dant que les capitaliſtes, les armateurs, et les négocians "François, en s'enrichiſſant par le commerce, comme "les agens du gouvernement, par la part qu'ils obtenoient "dans la progreſſion des impôts ſur les conſommations, "ſe font livrés à un luxe qui a augmenté le debouché des "produits du ſol et de l'induſtrie des Contrées Méridio-"nales de l'Europe."

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Arnould, Balance de la Commerce, p. 268.

CHAP. IV.

Trade between the British West Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages resulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Measures adopted by Government on the Re-establishment of peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the West Indies.—Opposition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Destruction of Negroes in the West Indies in consequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Present State and Value of the Trade between the British West Indies and the remaining British Provinces in America.—The same with the United States of America.—Inference from the Whole.—Appendix.

BOOK VI.

HAVING purposely reserved for separate discussion, the commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and North America, I shall now proceed to investigate its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the late unfortunate civil

civil war: and offer fome confiderations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and reftrictions (as they affected the fugar iflands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in confequence of the ackowledgment of American independency: after which, I fhall endeavour to furnifh an account of the prefent ftate of the Weft Indian trade, both with the United States, and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britain.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called lefs for reftraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the Weft Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffick calculated to anfwer the fantaftick calls of vanity, or to adminifter gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furnifh materials (fcarce lefs important than food) for fupplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief ftaple productions, fugar, and rum. Of the neceffity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the ftatement in the preceding chapter of the importation of thofe commodities

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into Great Britain; the cultivation of which muſt abſolutely have ſtopped without the means of conveying them to market.

FOR the ſupply of thoſe eſſential articles, lumber, fiſh, flour, and grain, America ſeems to have been happily fitted, as well from internal circumſtances, as her commodious ſituation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourſe with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our ſugar plantations in a great meaſure owe their proſperity; inſomuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge (a), if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the Engliſh precluded from all commerce or intercourſe with it, it is a very doubtful point, whether, in ſuch caſe, we ſhould at this hour have poſſeſſed a ſingle acre of land in the Weſt Indies.

THE following is an official account of the total import from North America into the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, atteſted by Mr. Stanley, ſecretary to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms in London, dated the 15th March 1775.

(a) Mr. Long.

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AN ACCOUNT of the total import from North America into the British West Indian Islands in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber,	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles - -	N°	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves - -	N°	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops - -	N°	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn - -	Bushs.	1,204,389	24	
Pease and Beans	D°	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour	Bbls.	396,329	991	
Ditto - -	Kegs	13,099		
Rice - -	Bbls.	39,912		
Rice -	Tierces	21,777		
Fish - -	Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto - -	Bbls.	47,686	664	202
Ditto -	Quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto - -	Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork -	Bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry - -	Dozs.	2,739	10	
Horses - -	N°	7,130	28	
Oxen - -	N°	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs	N°	13,815		
Oil - -	Bbls.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine	D°	17,024		
Masts - -	N°	157		
Spars - -	N°	3,074	30	
Shook Casks -	N°	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles	Boxes	20,475		
Ox Bows and Yokes	N°	1,540		
House Frames -	N°	620		
Iron - -	Tons	399¼		

Of this great ſupply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £. 2,160,000 ſterling, or £. 720,000 annually; conſiſting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to obſerve, that the veſſels employed in this trade (which were generally ſloops and ſchooners, ſingle decked, and without topmaſts) commonly made two, and ſometimes three, voyages in the year; ſo that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 ſeamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was eſtimated at about 1,000. Thus, the ſhortneſs and cheapneſs of the navigation in a great degree ſupported the trade.

The chief articles with which the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands ſupplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were ſugar, rum, melaſſes, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually ſhipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years, was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of melaſſes was 250,000 gallons. This laſt may be conſidered as ſo much additional rum, each gallon of melaſſes producing an equal quantity of ſpirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual ſupply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The ſupply of ſugar was eſtimated at 5,000 hogſheads, of 16 cwt.; and of coffee, at about 400,000 lbs. The value of the whole (including ſome other ſmall articles)

was £.420,000 ſterling, leaving a balance of £.300,000 in favour of the Americans, which was commonly paid in dollars, or bills of exchange, furniſhing them ſo far with the means of remittance to Great Britain, in reduction of their debts to the Britiſh merchants.

FROM this account of the exports from the Britiſh Weſt Indies to the continental colonies, it appears that America, beſides affording an inexhauſtible ſource of ſupply, was alſo a ſure market for the diſpoſal of the planters *ſurplus* productions; ſuch, I mean, for which there was no ſufficient vent in Europe, eſpecially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, having been little more than half the quantity conſumed in America. On whatever ſide therefore this trade is conſidered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits reſulting from it; for the ſugar planters, by being cheaply and regularly ſupplied with horſes, proviſions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the ſyſtem of management not only moſt advantageous to themſelves, but alſo to the mother-country. Much of that land which otherwiſe muſt have been applied to the cultivation of proviſions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raiſing of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. By theſe means, the quantity of ſugar and rum (the moſt profitable

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profitable of their ſtaples) had increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree, and the Britiſh revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal ſo much the more largely with the mother-country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger ſum than their returns of tobacco, indigo, rice, and naval ſtores, were ſufficient to diſcharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the Weſt Indies, foreign as well as Britiſh; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was juſt as advantageous to her, as if the ſugar planter himſelf had been the purchaſer to the ſame amount, inſtead of the American *(b)*.

SUCH

(b) Dr. John Campbell in his treatiſe, intituled, *Candid and impartial Conſiderations on the Sugar Trade*, (1763) has conſidered this ſubject in the ſame light, and expreſſed himſelf as follows: "As the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are continual purchaſers from ſuch as are ſettled upon the continent of America, the amount of their purchaſes conſtitutes a balance from them in favour of thoſe of whom they purchaſe. But on the other hand, the inhabitants of the northern colonies drawing large and conſtant ſupplies of commodities and manufactures from hence, we, for the ſame reaſon, have a like balance in our favour againſt them. It is evident, therefore, that by their transferring the balance due

Such having been the nature, neceſſity, and advantage of this commercial intercourſe, there was certainly every reaſon to expect that, on the termination of hoſtilities, the ſyſtem which had unavoidably been interrupted and diſarranged during the war, would revive as of courſe, and be re-eſtabliſhed under every poſſible encouragement. Accordingly, the liberal and accompliſhed miniſter, who was in the direction of the finances, loſt no time in preſenting to parliament a proviſional bill for that purpoſe; a copy of which the reader will find in a note (c).

By

due to them in ſatisfaction of that which is due from them to us, the whole accumulated profits ultimately center with the inhabitants of Great Britain."

(c) The following is a copy of the American Intercourſe Bill which was brought in by the Right Honourable William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, March 1783.

"A Bill for the proviſional eſtabliſhment and regulation of trade and intercourſe between the ſubjects of Great Britain and thoſe of the United States of North America.

"WHEREAS the following thirteen provinces of North America, namely, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Pennſylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia, have lately been ſolemnly acknowledged by his Majeſty to be, and now are, free, independent, and ſovereign States, by the name and deſcription of the United States of America:

"Be it therefore enacted and declared by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament

By what means these reasonable expectations of the planters, and good intentions of the minister towards them, proved ill-founded and abortive,

Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all statutes heretofore made to regulate the trade and commerce between Great Britain and the British Plantations in America, or to prohibit any intercourse between the same, shall, so far as they regulate or prohibit the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the territories now composing the said United States of America, wholly and absolutely cease:

"And whereas, whilst the aforesaid Thirteen Provinces were annexed to and constituted a part of the dominions of Great Britain, the inhabitants of the said provinces enjoyed all rights, franchises, privileges, and benefits of British subjects born in Great Britain, as well in respect to the trade and commerce with Great Britain as in other instances; and in consequence thereof the ships and vessels of the said inhabitants, being navigated in like manner as British ships and vessels are by law directed to be navigated, were admitted into the ports of Great Britain, with all the privileges and advantages of British-built ships:

"And whereas, by the several laws now existing, for regulation of the trade and commerce of Great Britain with foreign States, the subjects of the latter are, as aliens, liable to various commercial restrictions, and also to various duties and customs at the ports of Great Britain, which hitherto have not been applicable to, or demandable from, the inhabitants of the several provinces now composing the said United States of America:

"And whereas it is highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries; but, from the distance between Great Britain and America, it must be a considerable time before

tive, and the fatal conſequences which flowed from the meaſures reſorted to by the Britiſh government, I ſhall now proceed to point out. CHAP. IV.

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before any convention or treaty for eſtabliſhing and regulating the trade and intercourſe between Great Britain and the ſaid United States of America, upon a permanent foundation, can be concluded:

"Now, for the purpoſe of making a temporary regulation of the commerce and intercourſe between Great Britain and the ſaid United States of America, and in order to evince the diſpoſition of Great Britain to be on terms of the moſt perfect amity with the ſaid United States of America, and in confidence of a like friendly diſpoſition on the part of the ſaid United States towards Great Britain, Be it further enacted, That from and after the   the ſhips and veſſels of the ſubjects and citizens of the ſaid United States of America, with the merchandizes and goods on board the ſame, ſhall be admitted into all the ports of Great Britain in the ſame manner as the ſhips and veſſels of the ſubjects of other independent ſovereign States; but the merchandizes and goods on board ſuch ſhips or veſſels of the ſubjects or citizens of the ſaid United States, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid United States, ſhall be liable to the ſame duties and charges only, as the ſame merchandizes and goods would be ſubject to, if they were the property of Britiſh ſubjects, and imported in Britiſh-built ſhips or veſſels, navigated by Britiſh natural-born ſubjects.

"And be it further enacted, That during the time aforeſaid, the ſhips and veſſels of the ſubjects and citizens of the ſaid United States, ſhall be admitted into the ports of His Majeſty's iſlands, colonies, or plantations, in America, with any merchandizes or goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the territories of the aforeſaid United States, with liberty to export from His ſaid Majeſty's iſlands, colonies, or

The preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Verſailles on the 27th of January 1783; ſoon after which, the houſe of commons having paſſed a vote of cenſure on the treaty (with what regard to juſtice or conſiſtency, it is not my buſineſs at preſent to inquire) this event was followed by the reſignation of the miniſtry by whom the treaty was adjuſted. The new adminiſtration, it may be preſumed, had too many objects to attend to, on their firſt elevation to power, to find leiſure for conſidering the buſineſs of a commercial treaty

or plantations in America, to the ſaid territories of the ſaid United States, any merchandizes or goods whatſoever; and ſuch merchandizes and goods, which ſhall be ſo imported into, or exported from, the ſaid Britiſh iſlands, colonies, or plantations, in America, ſhall be liable to the ſame duties and charges only, as the ſame merchandizes and goods would be ſubject to, if they were the property of Britiſh natural-born ſubjects, and imported or exported in Britiſh-built ſhips or veſſels, navigated by Britiſh ſeamen.

"And be it further enacted, That during all the time herein-before limited, there ſhall be the ſame drawbacks, exemptions, and bounties, on merchandizes and goods exported from Great Britain into the territories of the ſaid United States of America, as are allowed in the caſe of exportation to the iſlands, plantations, or colonies, now remaining, or belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in America.

"And be further enacted, That all ſhips and veſſels belonging to any of the citizens or ſubjects of the ſaid United States of America, which ſhall have come into any port of Great Britain ſince the   together with the goods and merchandizes on board the ſame ſhips and veſſels, ſhall have the full benefit of this act."

with

with America. As, however, it was indifpenfably neceffary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had exifted during the war, this was done by an act paffed for that purpofe; but as to the reft, parliament took the fhorteft courfe poffible to fave themfelves trouble, by vefting in the crown, for a limited time, authority to regulate the commerce with America in fuch mannner as his majefty in council fhould deem expedient *(d)*.

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that fuch extenfive authority fhould be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumftance, nor the proclamation, or order of council, that iffued in confequence of it, on the 2d July 1783 (afterwards renewed annually) excited much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the Britifh Weft Indies of every fpecies of naval ftores, ftaves, and lumber, live ftock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American ftates, was confined to Britifh fhips legally navigated; and the export to thofe ftates of Weft Indian productions, was made fubject to the fame reftriction; while many neceffary articles (as falted beef and pork, fifh, and train-oil) formerly fupplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was confidered as a meafure merely temporary and experimental; and

(d) Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

until

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until a plan of permanent regulation ſhould be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitick nor unjuſt, that Great Britain ſhould reſerve in her own hands the power of reſtraining or relaxing her ſyſtem of commercial arrangements, as circumſtances might ariſe to render the exerciſe of ſuch a power prudent and neceſſary.

In theſe reaſons the Weſt Indian merchants, and ſuch of the planters as were reſident in Great Britain, acquieſced; but on the firſt meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the Britiſh adminiſtration) *(e)* the buſineſs of a commercial intercourſe between the Weſt Indies and the States of America, preſſed itſelf on the attention of government with a force which was not to be reſiſted. Petitions, complaints, and remonſtrances, were poured in from every iſland in the Weſt Indies. Some of the petitioners repreſented that they had not ſix weeks proviſions in ſtore, and all of them anticipated the moſt dreadful conſequences, if the ſyſtem of reſtriction ſhould be much longer perſiſted in; expecting nothing

(e) The Right Honourable William Pitt, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer from 10th July 1782 to 5th April 1783, was re-appointed to that office, and alſo nominated Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, on the 27th of December 1783, ſoon after which the parliament was diſſolved.

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lefs than a general revolt of their ſlaves, in the apprehenſion of periſhing of hunger.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, eſpecially ſuch of the new ſettlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promiſed to themſelves the acquiſition of ſudden and immenſe riches from the vaſt advance of price which it was foreſeen their few exports, when no longer depreſſed by competition, would obtain at the Weſt Indian markets. Every exertion, publick and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince adminiſtration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to ſatisfy the publick, that the Weſt Indies might be very amply ſupplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the iſland of Saint John. Hence they not only ſtrenuouſly recommended a ſteady adherence to the ſyſtem of reſtriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expreſſed their wiſhes, that the United States, might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, Britiſh ſhips from trading in the ports of America. The complaints and remonſtrances of the Weſt Indians, they treated as the turbulence of diſappointed faction. They accuſed them of having abetted the American rebellion, and their apprehenſions while wallowing in wealth, of

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of a ſcarcity of food were ſpurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impoſſible, I think, not to perceive in theſe, and ſimilar arguments, a lurking taint of reſentment and malignity, the relicks of former provocation againſt the Americans; and at leaſt as ardent a deſire to wound the new republick, through the ſides of the Weſt Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expence. Theſe paſſions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another, and a numerous claſs of people, who ſtood forward on this occaſion, in ſupport of the ſyſtem of reſtriction and monopoly, on different ground: theſe were the ſhip-builders, ſhip-owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ſhips were ſuffered to take ſugar from our iſlands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alledged, enter into a competition with Britiſh ſhips for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was anſwered, that a limitation of tonnage to ſhips employed in the American intercourſe, to which the planters would not object, confining it to veſſels having only one deck, and not exceeding ſeventy or eighty tons, muſt ſatisfy the moſt ſcrupulous on that head; inaſmuch

inafmuch as fuch veffels could never be employed in tranfporting fugar acrofs the Atlantick, nor could they be got infured if fuch attempts fhould be made. But although this anfwer muft have fatisfied every well-informed and confiderate perfon, it was found infufficient to filence the clamour which at that time was induftrioufly propagated on the fubject of the carrying-trade, as if the future exiftence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the difcuffion.

So vehement was the uproar, that the minifter himfelf was compelled to give way to the torrent. Although Mr. Pitt was now placed at the head of the Britifh adminiftration, he found himfelf unable, on his return to power, to enforce his firft intentions on this fubject. Inftead of reviving the provifional bill which, a few months before, he had prefented to parliament, he thought it adVifeable to refer the confideration of the whole matter to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the Weft Indian merchants and planters, refident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the fubject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the fugar planters, that on every principle of honour, humanity, and juftice, the unfortunate loyalifts of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled

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to a preference of their cuſtom, provided thoſe provinces poſſeſſed, in any degree, the means of ſupplying their wants; but this, they contended, was the main point in diſpute. They therefore requeſted, that before any permanent regulations ſhould be adopted by government, enquiry might be made, 1ſt. How much of the annual conſumption of American ſtaples thoſe provinces had ſupplied hitherto? and, 2dly. how far, from their preſent, or probably future, ſituation, they might be ſuppoſed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

SUCH an enquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the ſubject; when it appeared, from the cuſtom-houſe returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and proviſions imported from North America into the Britiſh ſugar colonies, in 1772, only ſeven of thoſe cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topſail veſſels, and 1681 ſloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the Britiſh and foreign Weſt Indies, only two of the topſail veſſels, and eleven of the ſloops, were from thoſe provinces. It ſtood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the ſupplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole conſumption of the ſugar iſlands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the ſecond ground of enquiry,

enquiry, it was ſhewn reſpecting Canada, not only that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was ſo greatly obſtructed by the ice in the winter, and by weſterly winds in the ſummer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable; but that in the province itſelf, the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the ſcarcity in Canada had been ſuch, as to occaſion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was ſhewn that, at the very time of the enquiry, a ſhip in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable ſeaſons (as in 1774) there might ſometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the conſumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and ſufficient ſupply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of diſappointment muſt prove an inſurmountable obſtruction to new inhabitants ſettling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was ſuch, as to cut off all hopes of ſupply from thence, even if the navigation had been ſubject to no delay and obſtacle whatever.

Respecting Nova Scotia, it was ſhewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain

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ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and ſo far from having any to export, it appeared that a conſiderable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the oppoſite ſide of the bay of Fundy, to enable the new ſettlers at Port Roſeway to build houſes for their own reſidence.

LASTLY, as to the iſland of Saint John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furniſhed food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the iſland. Its ſituation, within the gulph of Saint Lawrence, ſhut it up from all intercourſe during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even thoſe of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

THE advocates for the prohibitory ſyſtem, however, were not eaſily ſilenced. They declared it would be more for the intereſt of Great Britain, that the Weſt Indians ſhould be deprived of American ſupplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American veſſels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republick. They maintained, that the ſugar iſlands had reſources within themſelves, which, with occaſional aid from Great

* Britain,

Britain, might enable them to exift very comfortably, even though the accuftomed intercourfe with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly afked, in what manner were they fupported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was fuppreffed?

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the Britifh fugar iflands, during the war, had been very badly fupplied, both with lumber and provifions; and at an expence which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being fupplied at all. Their chief refource was the American veffels that had been captured in their way to the French iflands; a refource which had terminated with the war, and at beft proved fo uncertain and inadequate, that many of the Britifh iflands had been driven by neceffity to the worft of all applications (as Britifh colonifts) of their labour; the raifing provifions, and cutting lumber upon their own eftates. Inftead of directing their attention to the culture of thofe valuable and bulky ftaples which contribute, in fo eminent a degree, to form the dignified mafs of fupport which the Britifh navigation derives from her diftant colonies, they had been compelled to change their fyftem: They had abandoned the cultivation of fugar, and applied their land and labour to the purpofes of

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raising food. In what degree the British navigation and commerce had suffered by this measure, the custom-house books would demonstrate:— From that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the sugar islands, the import of sugar into England only, had fallen short of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; in value nearly one million, creating a loss in freight of £.150,000 on that article alone, and a defalcation in the publick revenue of £.300 a day, for every day in the year! Here then, it was said, was a full and satisfactory refutation of the popular clamour on the subject of the carrying-trade. Compared with these losses, and their consequences to every part of the empire, so inconsiderable, so truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American shallops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houses, that it seemed not to be an object deserving a moment's solicitude in the breast of a great nation.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the West Indies; and if the question had met with unprejudiced and temperate discussion, I am inclined to think, notwithstanding the jealous and monopolizing spirit of traffick, that regulations widely different from the present system of restriction and exclusion

ſion towards America, would have been eſtabliſhed; but, unfortunately, the private intereſts of ſome, and the prejudices and paſſions of others, were allowed to mingle in the inveſtigation. I am aware that, in common caſes, it ill becomes an undiſtinguiſhed individual to arraign the wiſdom and propriety of the national councils; but although there is a degree of reſpect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preſerve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the ſuppreſſion of truth. The conſequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occaſion, will preſently be ſeen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To ſuppreſs facts, therefore, in which the intereſts of humanity are ſo deeply concerned, is to ſacrifice both the dignity and utility of hiſtory; the great end of which is to make the errors and miſconduct of one ſet of men, a leſſon and a warning to their ſucceſſors.

The caſe was, to ſpeak plainly and undiſguiſedly, that the committee of council, to whom the conſideration of this important buſineſs devolved (with the beſt intentions I believe, for it cannot be ſuppoſed that they wiſhed to injure the Weſt Indian colonies) ſuffered themſelves to be guided in their reſearches by men who had reſentments to gratify, and ſecret purpoſes to promote. Some of theſe, were perſons whom America

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rica had proſcribed for their loyalty, and unjuſtly deprived of their poſſeſſions. That they had become, on this account, objects of compaſſion, and claimants on the publick of Great Britain, I have no wiſh to deny; but, without doubt, they were the laſt men in the world whoſe opinions ſhould have been adopted, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of reciprocity and conveniency between the mother-country, and that which they had left. To ſuppoſe that ſuch men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiaſſed teſtimony in ſuch a caſe, is to ſuppoſe they had diveſted themſelves of the common feelings of mankind.

THE firſt enquiries of the committee of council (thus influenced) were directed to diſprove the aſſertions contained in an addreſs of the aſſembly of Jamaica, concerning the diſtreſs in which that iſland was ſtated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of proviſions and lumber. Although thoſe aſſertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and ſubſequent conduct of the governor himſelf, to whom the addreſs was preſented (e); their lordſhips reported, that the aſſembly were by no means warranted in the ſtrong terms they had uſed; it appearing, they ſaid, "from private letters laid before them, that the ſcarcity complained of *did not exiſt*." When

(e) Sir Arch. Campbell.

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their lordſhips were humbly deſired to communicate the names of the parties who had written ſuch letters, that ſome judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their teſtimony, againſt that of the legiſlature of the colony, they refuſed, with tokens of manifeſt diſpleaſure, to diſcloſe them.

THEIR lordſhips, in the next place, proceeded to eſtimate the reſources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and in contradiction to the evidence and concluſions which had been given and adduced by the Weſt Indian merchants and planters, they aſſerted, in general terms, "that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increaſe, provided the Weſt Indian market was ſecured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, "that ſeveral perſons of great experience, were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 buſhels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, might affect the ſupply of lumber, but denied that this circumſtance would injure the trade in flour. They ſtated, "that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to ſupply great quantities of lumber, and moſt of the other articles which the Weſt Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly

properly made and ſecured to the inhabitants; for that (although the ſea-coaſt is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a ſoil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, "that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new ſettlers were induſtrious, and that the neutral French who ſtill remain (when no longer in a precarious ſtate with reſpect to the government under which they are to live) would probably follow the example of the new ſettlers, and learn from them to improve the country; eſpecially if due encouragement ſhould be given to their induſtry, by ſecuring them proper markets." Their lordſhips were further aſſured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increaſed.

Such a detail of probabilities, proviſoes, and poſſible contingencies, with the mention, among other reſources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, ſeemed, to the diſappointed planters, ſomething very like deriſion and mockery. They complained, that inſtead of aſſurances of relief, they were put off with airy conjectures, with frivolous *ifs* and *may be's*; with promiſes inconſiſtent with the laws of nature, and with declarations negatived both by experience and reaſon!

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In truth, the argument which appeared to have moſt weight with their lordſhips themſelves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of ſupply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and deluſive) took for granted, that by excluding American ſhips from the ports of the Weſt Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional veſſels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone, at the annual ſum of £.245,000 ſterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee ſtrongly recommended a ſtrict and rigid adherence to the meaſure of confining the intercourſe between our Weſt Indian Iſlands and America, to Britiſh ſhips only, as a regulation of abſolute neceſſity; conſidering any deviation from it, as expoſing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted ſubjects, now become ill-affected aliens. They expreſſed, indeed, ſome apprehenſion, leſt the congreſs of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, Britiſh veſſels from being the carriers between them and the Britiſh Weſt Indies; but ſeemed to think this circumſtance not very probable, inaſmuch as the people of the United States would, in that caſe, they ſaid, ſuffer much more than any of his Majeſty's ſubjects; a concluſion

ſion not very deciſive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that conſiderations of intereſt are frequenly overpowered by motives of reſentment.

THESE doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fulleſt extent by the Britiſh government; and the only ſolitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the Weſt Indies was, that the apprehenſion of their lordſhips, concerning American retaliation, was ill-founded; and that the United States, notwithſtanding the prohibitory ſyſtem of Great Britain, would ſtill open their ports to Britiſh ſhipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands; carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foreſee a very great expence, delay, and uncertainty attending ſuch circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to ſubmit, as the only alternative of eſcaping inevitable and impending deſtruction.

BUT there was this misfortune attending the ſugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever reſources might ultimately be found in the opulence and faculties of the mother-country, it was impoſſible, in the nature of things,

things, to expect from fo diftant a quarter an adequate fupply to a vaft and various demand, coming fuddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the fugar iflands too had fuffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in confequence whereof (had it not been for the cafual affiftance obtained from prize-veffels) one half of their negroes muft abfolutely have perifhed of hunger. Should fimilar vifitations occur, the moft dreadful apprehenfions would be realized; and I am forry to add, *that realized they were!*

I HAVE now before me a report of a committee of the affembly of Jamaica, on the fubject of the flave trade, wherein the lofs of negroes in that ifland, in confequence of thofe awful concuffions of nature, and the want of fupplies from America, is incidentally ftated. It is a document of the beft authority; and the following extract from it while it abundantly acquits the Weft Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occafion was illiberally brought againft them, will, I hope, ferve as an awful leffon to future minifters how they fuffer the felfifhnefs of party, and the prejudice of perfonal refentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

"WE fhall now (fay the committee) point out the principal caufes to which this mortality of

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of our ſlaves is juſtly chargeable. It is but too well known to the houſe, that in the ſeveral years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleaſed Divine Providence to viſit this iſland with repeated hurricanes, which ſpread deſolation throughout moſt parts of the iſland; but the pariſhes which ſuffered more remarkably than the reſt, were thoſe of Weſtmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawney, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the Eaſt. By theſe deſtructive viſitations, the plantain walks, which furniſh the chief article of ſupport to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intenſe droughts which followed, deſtroyed thoſe different ſpecies of ground proviſions which the hurricanes had not reached. The ſtorms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign ſupplies, except a trifling aſſiſtance from prize-veſſels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine enſued in the leeward parts of the iſland, which deſtroyed many thouſand negroes. After the ſtorm of the 30th of July 1784, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his council, publiſhed a proclamation, dated the 7th of Auguſt, permitting the free importation of proviſions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too ſhort a time to give ſufficient notice, and obtain all the ſupplies that were neceſſary, the ſmall quantities of flour, rice, and other

other provisions, which were imported in consequence of the proclamation, soon rose to so exorbitant a price as to induce the assembly, on the 9th of November following, to present an address to the lieutenant-governor, requesting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; observing, that it was impossible for the natural productions of the country to come to such maturity as to be wholesome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this address was presented, the lieutenant-governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1st of December following, the house represented, that a prolongation of the term was then absolutely necessary: They observe that, persuaded of the reluctance with which his honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himself bound to observe, it would give them much concern to address him on the same occasion a second time, were they not convinced that it was in a case of such extreme necessity as to justify such a deviation. Accordingly, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his Majesty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited should be extended to the 31st of January then next ensuing (1785): but, at the same time, he informed the house, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been established in Great Britain.

"From the 31ft of January 1785, therefore, the ports continued fhut, and the fufferings of the poor negroes, in confequence thereof, for fome months afterwards, were extreme: Providentially, the feafons became more favourable about May, and confiderable quantities of corn and ground provifions were gathered in by the month of Auguft; when the fourth ftorm happened, and the lieutenant-governor immediately fhut the ports againft the exportation of any of our provifions to the French and Spanifh iflands, which were fuppofed to have fuffered more than ourfelves; but not thinking himfelf at liberty to permit the importation of provifions in American veffels, the productions of the country were foon exhaufted, and the ufual attendants of fcanty and unwholefome diet, dropfies and epidemic dyfenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the fpring and fummer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

"On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid wafte the leeward parifhes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the confequences which followed, left we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the fubject will admit, the number of our flaves whofe deftruction may be fairly attributed to thefe repeated calamities, and

and the unfortunate meaſure of interdicting foreign ſupplies, and for this purpoſe compared the imports and returns of negroes for the laſt ſeven years, with thoſe of ſeven years preceding, we heſitate not, after every allowance for adventitious cauſes, to fix the whole loſs at fifteen thouſand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787."

SUCH (without including the loſs of negroes in the other iſlands, and the conſequent diminution in their cultivation and returns) was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her excluſive right of ſupplying her ſugar iſlands with food and neceſſaries! Common charity muſt compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proſcription of ſo many thouſand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor foreſeen by thoſe who recommended the meaſures that produced it. Certainly no ſuch proof was wanting to demonſtrate that the reſentments of party too frequently ſuperſede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in ſome meaſure furniſh its own remedy: The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and labour to the raiſing of proviſions,

 and

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and the hewing of ſtaves, found ſome reſource within themſelves; and, happily for the other iſlands, the United States did not, as was apprehended, adopt any ſcheme of retaliation; ſo that Britiſh veſſels ultimately obtained the profits of the carriage (whatever it was) between the Weſt Indies and America; and thus at length the ſyſtem became recognized and confirmed by the legiſlature (*f*).

BUT,

(*f*) By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April 1788, it is enacted, "That no goods or commodities whatever ſhall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his Majeſty's Weſt India Iſlands (in which deſcription the Bahama Iſlands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Iſlands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, maſts, yards, bowſprits, ſtaves, heading, boards, timber, ſhingles, and lumber of any ſort; horſes, neat cattle, ſheep, hogs, poultry, and live ſtock of any ſort; bread, biſcuit, flour, peaſe, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any ſort, ſuch commodities, reſpectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the ſaid United States of America: And that none of the goods or commodities herein before excepted, enumerated, and deſcribed, ſhall be imported or brought into any of the ſaid iſlands from the territories of the ſaid United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be ſo imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by Britiſh ſubjects and in Britiſh built ſhips, owned by his Majeſty's ſubjects, and navigated according to law.—By another clauſe, none of the aforeſaid articles are to

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But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother-country, from the regulations and arrangements which the Britifh parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whofe inftance and for whofe benefit the fcheme of exclufion and reftriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of thofe advantages from the meafure, which they had promifed to themfelves in the outfet. They difcovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river Saint Lawrence remained, as ufual, locked up feven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and Nova Scotia ftill continued inexorably fterile; fo much fo indeed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently reprefented this province as being capable, in

be brought from any of the foreign iflands, under the like penalty, except in times of publick emergency and diftrefs, when the governors of any of our iflands, with the advice and confent of the council, may authorize the importation of them by Britifh fubjects in Britifh-built fhips for a limited time." Such is the law as it now ftands with regard to the import of American articles into the Britifh Weft Indies: Concerning the export of Britifh Weft Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in fhips Britifh-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatfoever, which were not, at the time of paffing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and alfo fugar, melaffes, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and piemento; bond being given for the due landing of the fame in the United States.

in the course of three years, of supplying all the West Indies with lumber and provisions, found it necessary, at the end of those three years, to apply for and obtain the insertion of a clause in the prohibitory act, to authorize the admission of both lumber and provisions into that province from the United States. On this circumstance it is unnecessary to anticipate the reflections of the reader!

In consequence of this permission, there were shipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 staves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 bushels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no surplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own consumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been resorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vanished all the golden dreams and delusive promises of a sufficient supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to answer the wants of the West Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret that I am unable to furnish the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from those provinces to the West Indies since the war (the report of the committee of council on the slave trade,

trade, though fraught with information in all other cafes that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being filent on this head) or of the fifh which they fend annually to the fugar iflands. The quantity of this latter article imported into the Britifh Weft Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both inclufive) was 80,645 quintals *(g)*.

THE exports, for the year 1787, from the Britifh fugar iflands to all our remaining American poffeffions, Newfoundland included, confifted of 9,891 cwt. of fugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melaffes, 200 lbs. of piemento, 575 cwt. of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and

(g) The imports, into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, have been ftated in a report of the Affembly of that Ifland. The "negative catalogue" is very copious. No flour,—no fhip-bread or bifcuit, no Indian-corn, or other meal,—no horfes, cattle, fheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only provifions were, one hundred and eighty bufhels of potatoes, and 751 hogfheads and about 500 barrels of falted fifh,—rather a fcanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the fpace of nineteen months!——Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 fhingles.——Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogfheads of fifh, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36,000 fhingles and ftaves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

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ſome ſmall articles, fruit, &c. of little account; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £. 100,506. 17*s.* 10*d.* ſterling, and the ſhipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 ſeamen. As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men muſt be reduced one-half.

To the United States of America the ſame year the exports in Britiſh ſhipping were theſe: 19,921 cwt. of ſugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124½ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of melaſſes, 6,450 lbs. of piemento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

THE value in ſterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £. 196,460. 8*s.* as hath been ſtated in the former chapter *(h)*. The amount of the freight on theſe exports, and alſo on American productions ſupplied the Weſt Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be ſaid, that if ſhe has loſt much, ſhe has gained nothing; but eſtimating her profit at the utmoſt, to what does it amount, compared with the coſt of the purchaſe? Admitting it even to ſtand at the ſum fixed by the committee of coun-

(h) Number of veſſels (including repeated voyages) 386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

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cil (i), how ſubordinate is ſuch a conſideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable exiſtence of our ſugar iſlands, the whole of whoſe acquirements center in the boſom of the mother-country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fiſheries, upholding the credit of her funds, ſupporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thouſand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues, ſtrength, wealth, and proſperity!

On the whole, it is a conſideration of very ſerious importance that the benefits of the preſent reſtraining ſyſtem are by no means commenſurate to the riſk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of ſcarcity, may find ſome reſource within herſelf, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, meaſures of retaliation; but it muſt always be remembered, that every one of the Weſt Indian iſlands is occaſionally ſubject to hurricanes, and many of them to exceſſive droughts, which, by deſtroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependence but on imported proviſions ſupplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a ſcene of deſolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again, in the years 1773 and 1778.

(i) £.245,000 ſterling.

Should

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Should the ſame irreſiſtible viſitation overtake theſe unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters have no veſſels of their own, and thoſe of America are denied admittance into their ports, —how are even the moſt opulent among them to avert from their unhappy labourers the miſeries of famine, which in a like caſe ſwept off ſuch numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permiſſion that is held out to the planters to reſort, in time of emergency, to the foreign iſlands, it is ſo manifeſtly nugatory, that I chooſe not to ſpeak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate *(k)*.

COMPARED with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceleſs Africans, the inconveniency which of late has been felt and complained of in Great Britain, from the high price of Weſt Indian commodities, deſerves not the conſideration of a moment. It is the neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumſtance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this

(k) Under the preſent limited intercourſe with America (excluſive of the uncertainty of being ſupplied at all) the Weſt Indians are ſubject to three ſets of devouring monopoliſts. 1ſt. The Britiſh ſhip-owners, 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the iſlands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means thoſe moſt eſſential neceſſaries, ſtaves and lumber, have riſen in price no leſs than

37 per

this cause, more than to any other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been industriously excited against the planters, concerning their supposed ill usage of their negroes. Discontent at the high price of sugar, is called sympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconsistency can be more gross and lamentable! We accuse the planter of cruelty to his slaves, and contemplate, at the same time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thousands of those unhappy people have already perished, and to which (I grieve to add) many thousands more will probably fall a sacrifice!

37 *per cent.* as the following comparative table will demonstrate:

Prices of staves, lumber, &c. at Kingston, Jamaica, during two periods; the first from 1772 *to* 1775 *(both years inclusive) the second from* 1788 *to* 1791.

	1772.		1773.		1774.		1775.	
First Period:	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.
Red Oak Staves *per* M.	8	0	8	0	8	10	9	0
White Oak Staves *per* M.	9	10	9	10	10	0	11	0
Pitch-pine Lumber *per* M.	8	0	9	0	9	10	10	0
Common Lumber *per* M.	6	10	7	10	8	10	9	10
22 Inch Shingles *per* M.	2	0	2	5	2	10	2	10

	1788.		1789.		1790.		1791.	
Second Period:	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.
Red Oak Staves *per* M.	14	10	14	0	10	10	12	0
White Oak Staves *per* M.	15	0	15	0	11	0	12	0
Pitch-pine Lumber *per* M.	14	0	12	5	11	10	12	0
Common Lumber *per* M.	13	0	10	0	9	10	10	0
22 Inch Shingles *per* M.	3	0	3	0	2	15	2	15

APPENDIX

TO

CHAP. IV. OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VI.

THIS work having (1799) reached a third edition, it is with infinite ſatisfaction the author has an opportunity, in this place, of preſenting to his readers the 12th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between his Britannick Majeſty and the United States of America, concluded at London the 19th of November 1794, and finally ratified by the American Houſe of Repreſentatives on the 30th of April 1796. What effect the author's arguments in the preceding chapter produced on this occaſion, he preſumes not to ſay. That ſome of the facts which he ſtated had a very conſiderable influence on the minds of his Majeſty's miniſters, he has been aſſured from high authority; and indeed it were injurious to the character of thoſe miniſters to ſuppoſe that they had not. The 12th article is expreſſed in the words following: "XII. His Majeſty conſents, that it "ſhall and may be lawful, during the time hereinafter "limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry "to any of his Majeſty's iſlands and ports in the Weſt "Indies from the United States, *in their own veſſels, not* "*being above the burthen of ſeventy tons*, any goods or mer- "chandizes, being of the growth, manufacture, or pro- "duce of the ſaid States, which it is or may be lawful "to carry to the ſaid iſlands or ports from the ſaid States "in Britiſh veſſels; and that the ſaid American veſſels ſhall "be ſubject there to no other or higher tonnage duties "or charges than ſhall be payable by Britiſh veſſels in

"the

"the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of "the ſaid American veſſels ſhall be ſubject there to no "other or higher duties or charges than ſhall be payable "on the like articles if imported there from the ſaid States "in Britiſh veſſels.

"And his Majeſty alſo conſents, that it ſhall be "lawful for the ſaid American citizens to purchaſe, "load, and carry away in their ſaid veſſels, to the United "States, from the ſaid iſlands and ports, all ſuch articles, "being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the "ſaid iſlands, as may now by law be carried from thence "to the ſaid States in Britiſh veſſels, and ſubject only "to the ſame duties and charges on exportation to which "Britiſh veſſels and their cargoes are or ſhall be ſubject "in ſimilar circumſtances.

"Provided always, that the ſaid American veſſels do "carry and land their cargoes in the United States only; "it being expreſsly agreed and declared, that, during the "continuance of this article, the United States will pro- "hibit and reſtrain the carrying any melaſſes, ſugar, coffee, "cocoa, or cotton, in American veſſels, either from his "Majeſty's iſlands or from the United States, to any part "of the world, except the United States, reaſonable ſea "ſtores excepted.

"Provided alſo, that it ſhall and may be lawful, during "the ſame period, for Britiſh veſſels to import from the "ſaid iſlands into the United States, and to export from "the United States to the ſaid iſlands, all articles what- "ever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of "the ſaid iſlands, or of the United States reſpectively, "which now may by the laws of the ſaid States be ſo im- "ported and exported; and that the cargoes of the ſaid "Britiſh veſſels ſhall be ſubject to no other or higher "duties or charges, than ſhall be payable on the ſame "articles if ſo imported or exported in American veſſels.

"It is agreed that this article, and every matter and "thing therein contained, ſhall continue to be in force "during

"during the continuance of the war in which his Ma-"jesty is now engaged; and alſo for two years from and "after the day of the ſignature of the preliminary or other "articles of peace by which the ſame may be terminated.

"And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the "ſaid term, the two contracting parties will endeavour "further to regulate their commerce in this reſpect, ac-"cording to the ſituation in which his Majeſty may then "find himſelf with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, and with "a view to ſuch arrangements as may beſt conduce to the "mutual advantage and extenſion of commerce."

CHAP. V.

Charges brought against the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Design of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the British Plantations was improvident and unwise.—Testimony of the Inspector-General on this Subject, and Animadversions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a distinct Interest between Great Britain and her Sugar Islands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals arising from those Islands considered separately.—Opinions of Postlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on West Indian Commodities imported fall on the Consumer, and in what Cases?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of those Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonstrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Restrictions on the Colonists enumerated; and the Benefits resulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illustrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the West Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the British Consumption.—Unjust Clamours raised in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the West Indian Staples.—Project of establishing Sugar Plantations

Plantations in the East Indies under the Protection of Government considered.—Remonstrance which might be offered against this and other Measures.—Conclusion.

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After so copious a display as hath been given of the prodigiously increased value of these important islands, during the space of a century and a half, which have nearly elapsed since their first settlement, it may be supposed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithstanding the proceedings on which I have presumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindness and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have sometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their staples, have been equally ungrateful and unjust; the fastidious peevishness of opulent folly, and surfeited prosperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently uged against the planters of the West Indies, with a spirit of bitterness and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a small degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the splendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them resident in Great Britain) is blended in the accusation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occasions,

ſions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, ſupported as they are by perſons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by miniſters, and carried from the national councils into meaſures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general maſſacre of our whole ſyſtem of colonization.

Of theſe doctrines and opinions, ſo far as they concern the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies, the following is a fair abſtract and abridgement:

First. That the ſugar iſlands have been ſettled by Britiſh capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly. That the money expended upon Weſt Indian eſtates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inaſmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner ſo much as ſix *per cent.* on his capital, after payment of expences.

Thirdly. That the duties on Weſt Indian commodities fall altogether on the conſumer.

Fourthly. That the ſeveral prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the conſumption of Britiſh Weſt Indian produce

 upon

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upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have vested in the planters a complete monopoly of the British market, at the cost, and to the manifest injury, of the British consumer, who might otherwise purchase sugars, &c. from the foreign islands, 20 or 30 *per cent.* cheaper than in those of Great Britain.

FIFTHLY. That from this great disparity of price between British and foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain, by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the exchequer; the British exporter being otherwise unable to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market:—a policy, which is pronounced to be dangerous and destructive.

THE inference which is drawn from these premises is plainly this, that, considering the expence of protecting them in war, the settlement of sugar plantations in the West Indies was improvident and unwise; and that their further extension and improvement would not promote the general interests of the British empire.

IT is probable that these, and similar notions of the same tendency, but of more extensive application, were originally disseminated with no other view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial settlements, to reconcile the nation to those rash and inconsiderate

proceedings, which terminated in the loſs of America. They have had their day; and, like other ſpeculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been conſigned, without injury, to oblivion. As, however, the manifeſt aim of ſuch doctrines is to induce the legiſlature to adopt meaſures that in their conſequences may check and impede the further progreſs of the coloniſts in a line of cultivation, in which, under the expreſs encouragement of government, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their faculties, it becomes neceſſary, in a work of this kind, to conſider them with ſome degree of attention.

It might indeed be alledged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expoſe the nakedneſs of that doctrine which affects to conſider the ſugar iſlands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and ſimple diſplay of the productions which they furniſh, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the ſhipping to which they give employment. And ſuch a diſplay hath already been exhibited in the preceding chapters: but, unfortunately, there prevail many popular prejudices againſt the colonies, which are difficult to remove, becauſe they are founded not in reaſon but ſelfiſhneſs. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by

recalling to the publick attention, ſuch eſtabliſhed principles and facts as, being built on experience, neither ſophiſtry can perplex, nor ſelf-intereſt elude.

In moſt of the late ſpeculative ſyſtems that I have ſeen, which have treated of the Britiſh colonies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their intereſts in general are conſidered as diſtinct from, and in ſome reſpects oppoſed to, the general intereſts of the empire. We ſpeak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their inhabitants as *our* ſubjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a ſpirit of rivalry or jealouſy, as an unconnected or hoſtile people, whoſe proſperity is our detriment, and whoſe gain is our loſs.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, concerning new England, and ſome other of the colonies in North America; but none of thoſe writers ever conſidered the plantations in the Weſt Indies in the ſame point of view. They knew that the greateſt benefit of colonies, is the production of ſtaple commodities different from thoſe of the mother-country; an advantage almoſt peculiar to ſuch of our plantations as are ſituated in the ſouthern latitudes. This neceſſary diſtinction ſeems however to have eſcaped the notice

tice even of thofe who admit that the money which is vefted in the fugar iflands, is in fact Britifh property, and that the profits and returns arifing from it, center in Great Britain, and no where elfe; another advantage peculiar to our Weft Indian fettlements. Yet the truth undoubtedly is, that the fugar planters, generally fpeaking, are but fo many agents or ftewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother-country; or if, in fome few inftances, they are independent proprietors themfelves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately vefted. The produce of the fugar iflands therefore ought, in all reafon, to be confidered as ftanding precifely on the fame footing with the produce of the mother-country. The fugar made in them is raifed by Britifh fubjects, and the fale of it (as far as it can anfwer any profitable purpofe to Great Britain) confined to the Britifh market. In the actual confumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it cofts is only transferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price high or low, the nation at large is not one fhilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is confumed at home, the value is faved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid for by foreigners,

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BOOK VI.

the amount is so much clear gain to the kingdom (*b*).

NEITHER ought the national profits arising from their cultivation, to be estimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the several individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her sugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators consists only of the very small proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commissions to the British merchants, and the interest of their debts to British creditors. It is indeed very possible that a concern may be lucrative to the publick, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thousand ways from her plantations in the West Indies, no man of common sense or com-

(*b*) It is the practice with some writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to consider every branch of it as unfavourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports; that is, they strike a balance on the custom-house entries, and consider the excess either way, as the measure of the national advantages, or disadvantages, of such a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to most branches of foreign commerce (rightly so called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the East Indies; but from what has been said in the text, the reader will perceive the gross absurdity of bringing our intercourse with the West Indies to the same standard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to* them, is to be considered as the measure of their value.

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mon candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already aſſigned, gave birth to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the ſame time, ſuffered conſiderably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to diſpute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is the very prevalent idea which I have before ſlightly noticed, that all the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, and more eſpecially the great article ſugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than thoſe of the foreign plantations. Againſt this circumſtance, (if it were well founded) it might ſeem ſufficient to oppoſe the national benefit ariſing generally from the whole ſyſtem; but the conſumer, mindful of himſelf only, conceives that he ought to have permiſſion to purchaſe ſugar at the cheapeſt rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whoſe aim it is to buy cheap and ſell dear, claims the ſame privilege; to which indeed there would be leſs objection, if he would conſent that another part of his fellow-ſubjects, the growers of the commodity, ſhould enjoy the ſame freedom from commercial reſtraint which he requires for himſelf. Unluckily however, the fact itſelf is altogether deſtitute of foundation. The exiſtence of ſuch diſparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations,

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is neither true nor poſſible, as is demonſtrated by the magnitude of the Britiſh export, both of raw and refined ſugar, for the ſupply of foreign markets; it being evident, that foreigners would not reſort to our market for the purchaſe of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home (*c*): Nor do I recollect when it was otherwiſe.

(*c*) Reſpecting the French ſugar iſlands, I can ſpeak of my own knowledge. Moſt of their largeſt planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay leſs attention to the manufacture of good *muſcavado* than is given to it in our iſlands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be ſold proportionally cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodneſs, the price alſo is equal, and ſometimes higher. Of twelve ſamples of muſcavado ſugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the beſt quality of *ſucre brût* made in that iſland, I could not honeſtly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am perſuaded I could have purchaſed better ſugars in Jamaica at a leſs price than was aſked for thoſe. This was in 1791, ſoon after the revolt of the ſlaves, when it might have been ſuppoſed that the diſtreſſes of the French planters would have compelled them to ſell their ſugars more reaſonably than they had done for ſeveral years before. In fact, the only *datum* for aſcertaining the relative value of foreign and Britiſh ſugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; inſtead of which, the price always referred to, is *the price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original coſt. The not attending to this neceſſary diſtinction, has probably given riſe to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occaſioned more ill-will and groundleſs complaint againſt the Britiſh ſugar planter, than any other circumſtance. While I am on this ſubject it may not be improper to take ſome notice of the diſparity between the profits obtained on their ſugar by the

wiſe. There was indeed a time when England, having no plantations of her own, was compelled to purchaſe of foreign nations, and at their own prices, many articles of prime neceſſity, for a ſupply

CHAP. V.

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the Britiſh and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publication of character, * the author ſtates the whole year's import into France on an average at

130,000 caſks, valued at 90 million of livres, equal to £. ſter. 3,937,500.

Againſt this value he ſets the duties and impoſts, viz.

	Livres.	
Duties of the weſtern domain - -	5,600,000 -	£. 245,000
Ditto in the Weſt Indies - -	7,344,000 - -	321,300
		566,300
Ditto on 50,000 caſks conſumed or refined in France	4,592,000 - -	200,900
Total of impoſts and duties, including the charges of Government, civil and military, in the iſlands - - - -	-	767,200

	£.	s.	d.
According to this ſtatement, theſe ſugars are valued, *per* caſk, at - - - - - -	30	5	9¼
And the duties thereon eſtimated at - - - - -	5	8	0
Leaves, clear of duties - -	24	17	9¼ ſterling money.

Let us now look to Britiſh ſugars.

I ſuppoſe 14 cwt. a good average weight *per* caſk at ſale, and that 2 l. 5 s. *per* cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty, &c. included) for ſeveral years previous to the revolt of the ſlaves in St. Domingo:

I compute

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* Reflections d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785.

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ſupply of which, thoſe very nations now reſort to the Britiſh market. " Before the ſettlement of our colonies (ſays Poſtlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe

I compute the publick charges, civil and military, paid in our iſlands by grant of aſſembly, at not leſs than 200,000 l. *per annum:*

And that this reſts as a charge upon their ſugars of about two ſhillings *per* cwt.

The amount of theſe colonial impoſts upon a caſk of 14 cwt. will therefore be - - -	£.1 8 0
The Britiſh duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12 *s.* 3½ *d. per* cwt. -	8 12 0
In all, *per* caſk - -	£.10 0 0
Then, ſuppoſing the groſs value of one caſk of 14 *per* cwt. at 45 *s. per* cwt. to be - -	£.31 10 0
Deduct publick impoſts and duties -	10 0 0
Leaves - -	£.21 10 0

N. B. 5 l. 8 s. (the French Duties) is rather leſs than 18 *per cent.* on the value, and 10 l. the impoſts and duties paid by the Britiſh planters, is 31¾ *per cent.*

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of 100 l. value of the French planter's ſugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, 82 l.—But to the Britiſh planter, out of his ſugar, no more than 68 l. 5 s.—and although the groſs apparent value of the Britiſh planter's hogſhead of ſugar is higher than that of the French planter's by 1 l. 4 s. 3 d. yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, leſs than the other by 3 l. 7 s. 9 d.—This ſuperior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expence than the Engliſh—circumſtances which probably make the ſcale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

those days, we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips, from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from France. Portugal ſupplied us with ſugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the Eaſt Indies, *at their own price.*" The ſame account is confirmed by Sir Joſiah Child. "Portugueſe ſugar (ſays this author) before we had plantations of our own, ſold for ſeven and eight pounds ſterling the quintal or cwt.;" and it is a remarkable and well known circumſtance, after that the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica, was ſuppreſſed by an exorbitant duty of near £.20 the hundred weight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies £.200,000 annually for this commodity, ſo eſſential to a great variety of her moſt important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, ſome time after, ſubſtituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and ſucceeding in the culture of this valuable plant, ſupplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards (receiving too our manufactures in payment) not only the Britiſh conſumption, but alſo enabled Great Britain to export a ſurplus at an advanced price to foreign markets.

If

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If these writers then were well informed, and the commercial world has thought highly of their industry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is easily said, and as easily denied) that the settlement of the British sugar plantations was unwise or improvident; nor will it be found very easy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit. Against advantages of such magnitude and permanence as I have shewn to result from those colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loss to individuals in the plantations, by improvident schemes in the outset, or improper conduct in their subsequent pursuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is sometimes sustained by the purchasers and consumers at home, from an occasional advance of price in some few of the colonial products, outweighs in the scale of reason a feather!

I shall now proceed to consider those other positions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are granted on the products of the British sugar islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption

ſumption of ſugar, and other articles. The ſubject is naturally dry, and not ſuſceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be diſputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whoſe principles are leſs underſtood than thoſe of the compact laſt mentioned.

THE points to be conſidered are briefly compriſed in the following objections:—It is aſſerted,

FIRST, That the duties which are levied on the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the firſt inſtance by the proprietor or importer, ultimately fall on the conſumer, and on him alone *(d)*.

SECONDLY,

(d) The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of Weſt Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America:

DUTIES *payable upon* IMPORTATION *into* GREAT BRITAIN of the Produce of the *Britiſh Weſt Indies, agreeable to the Conſolidated Act, moſt of which are drawn back upon Exportation.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Refined ſugar, cwt.	4	18	8	Indigo, mahogany, Nicaragua wood, logwood, lignum-vitæ, and fuſtick, *free.*			
Muſc. ſugar, - -	0	15	0				
Rum, *per* gallon, cuſtoms 5*d.* exciſe 4*s.* 3*d.* - -	0	4	8				
Piemento, *per* lb.	0	0	3	* Coffee, *per* cwt.	0	3	6

Cocoa,

* *If the Coffee is for home conſumption, it pays a further duty of* 3*l.* 15*s. per cwt. to the cuſtoms, and* 6½ *d. per lb. to the exciſe.—Cocoa alſo, if for home conſumption, pays* 12*s.* 6*d. per cwt.—exciſe* 6½ *d. per lb.*

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SECONDLY, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-export, is dangerous and destructive. THIRDLY,

	£.	s.	d.
Cocoa, ditto. - -	0	1	3
Ginger, black or white, *per* cwt.	0	11	0
Cotton, from any place in British bottoms, *free*.			

	£.	s.	d.
Gum Guaiacum,	0	0	9
Jalap - -	0	0	9
Aloes, *per* cwt. -	6	10	8
Sarsaparilla, *per* lb.	0	0	8
Tamarinds, red, cwt.	1	0	6

Impost of the UNITED STATES upon WEST INDIA PRODUCE.

	Cents.
Distilled spirits, if more than ten *per cent.* below proof, *per* gallon - -	20
If more than five, and not more than ten, *per cent.* below - -	21
If of proof, and not more than five *per cent.* below - - -	22
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty *per cent.* - - -	25
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty *per cent.* above proof - - -	30
If of more than forty *per cent.* above proof	40
Brown sugar - -	1½
Melasses - - -	3
Coffee, *per* pound -	4
Cocoa - - -	1
Piemento - - -	4
Indigo - - -	25
Cotton - - -	3
Tonnage on foreign vessels *per* ton - -	50

N. B. *One hundred Cents is equal to a Spanish Dollar.*

Not less than 50 Gals. to be imported into the United States.

*** An addition of ten *per centum* to be made to the several rates of duties before specified and imposed, excepting rum, which shall be imported in ships or vessels not of the United States.

☞ Brown or Muscavado sugar, *not* of the British plantations, is subject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a duty

THIRDLY, That the monopoly of ſupply veſted in the planters is partial, oppreſſive, and unjuſt.

I SHALL conſider theſe ſeveral poſitions in the order in which I have placed them. The inveſtigation of them is neceſſary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general obſervations, will conclude my labours.

IF daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the ſelfiſh prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the firſt of theſe poſitions (in the full extent to which it is carried) ſhould ever be ſeriouſly repeated, after the clear and unanſwerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the preſs, a thouſand times; and what is more, by ſad experience in a thouſand inſtances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or intereſted men, it is the duty of the planters to give it attention; and although they may have nothing new to offer on a queſtion which has been ſo frequently and fully inveſtigated,

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duty of £. 1. 7 *s.* 2 *d.* and white or clayed ſugar of foreign growth to £. 2. 5 *s.* 6 *d.* the cwt; Eaſt Indian ſugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays £. 37. 16 *s.* 3 *d.* *per cent. ad valorem.* It is all white or clayed ſugar.

tigated, they have no reaſon on that account to be ſilent; inaſmuch as the doctrine itſelf has not, unfortunately, the grace of novelty to recommend it.

THE planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematicks more inconteſtible than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market depends entirely on their plenty or ſcarcity, in proportion to the demand or conſumption*:—If the quantity at market is not equal to the demand, the ſeller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market greatly exceeds the vent or demand, then it is out of the ſeller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will neceſſarily keep it down in ſpite of his utmoſt endeavours to raiſe it.

THE truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter caſe the original coſt of the goods, and all ſubſequent charges thereon, ſuch as freight, warehouſe rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminiſhes the profits of the ſeller. If the demand be great, and the quantity ſmall, the ſeller has ſometimes an opportunity not only of reimburſing himſelf the original

original coſt, and all ſubſequent charges and duties, but likewiſe of making great profit beſides. Reverſe the circumſtances, and he finds himſelf a conſiderable loſer. All this is the neceſſary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only proſperous as it contrives *to feed the market* properly; or, in other words, to make the ſupply no more than adequate to the demand: Thus the taxes on leather, ſoap, candles, malt, beer, and ſpirits, by enhancing the price to, may be ſaid to fall on, the conſumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, ſo they proportion the ſupply to the demand, and bring to market no more than ſufficient to anſwer the conſumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they ceaſe to deal in thoſe commodities. CHAP. V.

It is the ſame in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign nations, *over whoſe exports we have no controul.* The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the Britiſh market for the commodity; and ceaſes to import ſuch goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, afrer the duty and all other charges are reimburſed.

But, in the caſe of articles which the ſituation and neceſſities of the owner bring to ſale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impoſſible

 that

that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market, can have any effect on the price; for the price arises from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be absurd to say the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminish.— Thus, when wheat is scarce, the price rises; and two or three good harvests make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3 *s.* or 4 *s.* and without any regard to the farmer's expences. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price, until the stock is lessened by exportation, or otherwise, to such a quantity as is barely sufficient for home consumption. Hops, hay, cyder, and a thousand other commodities, are subject to the same rule.

Such too is precisely the situation of the West Indian planters: they are compelled to send their goods to market, or starve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to resort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore, when brought to sale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or less supply necessarily and naturally creates. The consumers of sugar neither care for, nor enquire after, its original cost, or the duties and charges which it has paid in its way to market. The importer however must pay the duties before he

can

can bring his ſugar to ſale, for no man will buy unleſs the duty is firſt cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have obſerved, on the quantity at market; it being an abſolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other, great ſcarcity and a low price, can exiſt at one and the ſame time. That ſugar, like other commodities, is ſometimes bought up in Great Britain by engroſſers on ſpeculation, may be very poſſible; but this is a traffick in which as neither the planters in the Weſt Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, ſo neither are they anſwerable for any conſequences ariſing from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the Weſt Indies, the evil has ſometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleaſed the Almighty to lay waſte the ſugar iſlands by a ſucceſſion of tremendous hurricanes, it was reaſonable to expect that the reduced ſtate of their exports, would enhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be ſaid that the conſumer of ſugar reimburſed in ſome degree the charges and expences of its culture and tranſportation, and the duties

BOOK VI.

which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the beſt) which the ſugar planters could receive; but if, from ſome occaſional increaſe of price on ſuch emergencies, they are made ſubject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, becauſe the conſumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the devaſtations of the elements are only the leſſer evil.

Admitting however that the conſumer really does, in a great many caſes, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently in his power to force his own price; who does not ſee, as an inevitable conſequence, that a decreaſe in the conſumption will ſoon bring the price back to its level? The products of the Weſt Indies are rather among the luxuries than the neceſſaries of life, and the great conſumption of ſugar eſpecially, is with the middle and lower claſſes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aſide when reaſons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only enquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muſcavado ſugar, in conſequence of the calamities that have been ſtated, and from captures in war, roſe ſuddenly one-fourth in value: he will find that the diminution in the conſumption in many parts of the kingdom,

dom, was in a much greater relative proportion; —a more fatal ſymptom cannot attend any branch of commerce. CHAP. V.

If the arguments which have thus been ſtated are not ſufficient in themſelves to juſtify the remonſtrances which the planters of the Weſt Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge againſt the increaſe of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which muſt convince the moſt ſelfiſh and incredulous.

The inſtance of indigo has been mentioned already; and it cannot be repeated too often.—The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have ſince complained of thoſe on ſugar, and they were told then, as they are conſtantly told in other caſes, that the duties fell ultimately on the conſumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, ſaw, and acknowledged its error; but the remedy was applied too late; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the conſumer, inſtead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all diſpute, had never been wreſted out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furniſhes another inſtance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may ſeem that an article which our own colonies can raiſe in the greateſt plenty and perfection, ſhould be ſubject to a

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higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or coffee might have ſupplied;) ſuch however was the caſe even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at preſent! The conſequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the conſumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was preciſely the ſame; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation; or if, in exacting a living profit, he loſt his cuſtomers, becauſe they could no longer afford to purchaſe, his ſituation became equally diſtreſſing; until neceſſity compelled him to change his ſyſtem, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao, which once conſtituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and ſuppreſſed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have elſewhere obſerved, that there is not at this day a ſingle cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the iſland to the other.

THE cultivation of ginger ſucceeded that of cacao, and met with a ſimilar fate: but perhaps the inſtance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of miniſters, becauſe the proof which it affords ariſes, not from what has been *loſt* by impolitick taxation, but from what has been *gained* by a prudent reduction of exiſting duties. In the one caſe, the leſſon it

affords is too mortifying to be acceptable: the other they will receive as a compliment to their wiſdom. Having however ſtated the circumſtance in a former part of this work *(e)*, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon it here. CHAP. V.

FROM the whole of what has been obſerved on the queſtion of duties, this concluſion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine caſes out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the Britiſh plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the coloniſt in the Weſt Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the conſumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth caſe, when the conſumer pays them, *he ought to pay them*; inaſmuch as all taxes ſhould in juſtice preſs with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to ſuſtain them; of which, in the caſe of taxable commodities, conſumption is the criterion. To this conſideration muſt be added the well-known and eſtabliſhed axiom, that taxes paid by the publick at large diſtribute themſelves ſo equally on the whole, as eventually to raiſe the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himſelf for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be

(e) Book v. c. iv. p. 349.

contemptuoufly told (for fuch has been the language of their adverfaries) that they have *groaned without a grievance.* I have fhewn that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if (apprehenfive that the few valuable ftaple commodities which now remain to them are in danger of being facrificed, as others have been, to a fyftem of impolitick taxation) they ftate their apprehenfions to minifters, by a recital of plain facts, and a perfeverance in well grounded complaints, it feems to me they are equally ferving government, and defending their own rights and properties.— Supplies muft neceffarily be raifed; they admit it; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object muft ftop, or it will not only defeat its own purpofe, but have the effect alfo of endangering all former duties laid on the fame object, by totally deftroying its cultivation or manufacture. The fubject now naturally leads me to the confideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of Britifh plantation products, the fecond head of our prefent enquiries; and as the principal of thofe products is fugar, I fhall confine my remarks to that article.

THE term DRAWBACK, in the language of the Cuftom-houfe, is applied to the tax repaid upon

upon the exportation of *raw* ſugar, and the word BOUNTY to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback ſufficiently expreſſes its meaning; for (excepting the gain to government by intereſt, in conſequence of having had a depoſit of the tax for ſome time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity waſted while the ſugar continued in a Britiſh port) the original duty paid at importation, is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at preſent (including the laſt duty of 2 *s.* 8 *d.* laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is 15 *s.* the hundred weight. But as to the *bounty*, the caſe was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave an actual premium on the export of refined ſugar in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the collective ſums ſo refunded and paid, amounting together to 26 *s.* the hundred weight, obtained generally the name of bounty; a name which is ſtill retained, although in fact, ſince the laſt duty was laid, the extra ſum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compenſation for the duty which is paid on the *extra* quantity of raw ſugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined,

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refined, and loſt by pilferage and waſte, between the importation and day of ſale, as will preſently be demonſtrated *(f)*.

HAVING

(f) The ſtatute book denominates that ſpecies of refined ſugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted, "*Sugar in the loaf and whole, being nett.*" Upon the export of this ſort of ſugar the bounty was raiſed by the 5th George III. c. 45. to 14 *s.* 6 *d.* and a further bounty of 11 *s.* 6 *d.* was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26 *s. per* cwt. and ſo it continues at preſent. The laſt bounty of 11 *s.* 6*d.* was granted in conſequence of an additional duty of 6 *s. per* cwt. laid in 1781, on raw ſugar imported, when Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he propoſed the aforeſaid bounty purpoſely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and caſual; inaſmuch as the export of refined ſugar is altogether occaſional, depending on the fluctuating ſtate of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This conſideration alone is a good reaſon why the bounty ſhould be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by the 31 George III. c. 15, laid a further duty of 2 *s.* 8 *d. per* cwt. on raw ſugar imported from the Britiſh plantations (appropriating the ſame, for the term of four years, towards the diſcharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15 *s. per* cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3 *s.* 4 *d.* to the drawback, on what the ſtatute calls *baſtards, and ground or powdered ſugar*; and alſo on *refined loaf broke into pieces*, and all ſugar called *candy*. Upon the export of theſe ſpecies of ſugar, the drawback previous to the 31 Geo. III. ſtood at 11 *s.* 8 *d.* only, while the

duty

HAVING thus explained what is meant by the terms dawback and bounty, in the cafe of fugar exported, I fhall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the colonift or importer, but of rigourous juftice, and is founded on a ftrict and confcientious right which he poffeffes, and of which he cannot be deprived, fo long as a fenfe of moral duty, and a regard to equal juftice, fhall be found among the principles of a free government.

AN importer of merchandize either comes *voluntarily* into our ports, to feek the beft market for

dutypaid on raw fugar imported was 12 *s.* 4 *d.* and it being but juft, that the drawback fhould at leaft be equal to the duty paid, 3 *s.* 4 *d.* was added in that act; which, with 11 *s.* 8 *d.* makes 15 *s. per* cwt. the precife amount of the import duties paid fince that act took place. The minifter who moved the additional duty of 2 *s.* 8 *d.* in 1791, propofed alfo at firft to augment the bounty in the ufual proportion; but the fugar refiners remonftrated againft the meafure, as being, they faid, *beneficial only to the planters.* It is remarkable however, that in the memorial which they prefented on that occafion to the chancellor of the exchequer, they furnifh an unanfwerable argument in fupport of an actual *bonus* on the export from Great Britain of refined fugar; for they admit that a greater proportion of the refined article is now made from mufcavado than was formerly produced, *owing*, they fay, *to improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity.* As thofe improvements were not effected but after many coftly, and fome fruitlefs, experiments, it feems no way confonant either to juftice or reafon that the refiners alone fhould reap the advantages of them, and the planters, who fuftained the rifk, fit down quietly under the expence.

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for the ſale of his goods; or is *compelled* to enter them, that the nation may ſecure to itſelf the pre-emption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties to which, by the laws of the port, he will be ſubject; he makes his option, and if he meets with diſappointment, has no right to complain; much leſs to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importation, in caſe he ſhall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ſhip his goods, and try another market. He comes in the ſpirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate; ſo it is but reaſonable that he ſhould ſubmit patiently to his loſs, if loſs is the conſequence of his experiment. This concluſion is, I think, too evident to require farther illuſtration.

On the other hand, the caſe of thoſe who are *compelled* to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The ſugar planter, for inſtance, is not only obliged to bring his ſugar at all times and ſeaſons to a market which perhaps is already overloaded; but to bring it too in Britiſh ſhips, that the mother-country may have the benefit ariſing from the freight. On the ſuppoſition that the whole may be ſold for home conſumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity imported, before he is per-

mitted

mitted to ſell any part. The home conſumption is then ſupplied; and a ſurplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaſer, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain chooſe to pay an equal price: they have the firſt offer, and refuſal of the whole. Under what pretence then can the Britiſh government, whoſe language it is that all duties are, and ought to be ultimately paid by the conſumer, retain the duties on ſuch part of the goods as are not purchaſed for the home ſupply? The mother-country has already received the benefit of the freight; has had a preference in the ſale of the goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages from its importation; and the owner has ſuffered the inconveniency of advancing a large ſum of money for duties on goods which ſhe refuſes to purchaſe,—an inconveniency of no ſmall account, inaſmuch as, beſides the loſs of intereſt, ſhould the goods periſh by fire, he would loſe both his goods and the duty *(g)*; —perhaps, as an intereſted man, I am not competent

(g) Since this work was firſt publiſhed, the author has had reaſon to ſpeak *feelingly* on this point. In the month of December 1793, no leſs than 1,600 hogſheads of ſugar, lying in the London warehouſes, were conſumed by fire, on which there had been paid in duties to government upwards of £. 17,000; all this was a loſs to the unfortunate owners, excluſive of the goods. The author's ſhare of this loſs was £. 1,200.

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petent to decide impartially on this queſtion; but *to me*, it appears that a final retention of the duties here ſpoken of, would be an outrageous exerciſe of power, without a ſhadow of right; a proceeding in the higheſt degree unjuſt, fraudulent, and oppreſſive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition of the Engliſh duty, fifteen ſhillings *per* cwt. if the money is not refunded, are taken from the coloniſt, for having, againſt his will, and at a great expence of freightage, ſent his ſugar circuitouſly through Great Britain. Such an extortion for paſſing through a market to which he does not voluntarily reſort, is virtually fixing a forced price upon the commodity; and to do this, or by force to take the commodity from him, without giving any price for it,—what is it but an act of the ſame nature, differing only in degrees of violence?—The plea of neceſſity is not applicable to the caſe; the object not being, as in the caſe of corn, a *neceſſary* but a *luxury* of life; and the coloniſts, to whom it belongs, have no ſhare in the power of regulating, if regulations are to be made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwiſe the advantage of ſometimes buying Britiſh plantation ſugar on cheaper terms than the people of Great Britain, it is anſwered that this is a circumſtance

ſtance for which the planter is no way reſponſible, and in truth it is in itſelf but little to be regarded; ſince whenever it happens, the national gain is ſo much the greater; becauſe the kingdom profits much more by the quantity purchaſed, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the ſame quantity had been conſumed at home.—Government has no means in this caſe of taxing the conſumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end *(h)*.

HITHERTO,

(h) Since the foregoing was written, an act of the Britiſh legiſlature has paſſed, intituled, "An Act for regulating the "allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty on "the exportation of ſugar, and for permitting the importation "of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands "in foreign ſhips." Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign ſugar and coffee are not to be conſumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouſes until re-exported, the planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies have no right to object to its proviſions; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the caſe is widely different. By this law it is enacted that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or muſcavado ſugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and publiſhed in the Gazette) ſhall exceed, in the ſix weeks which reſpectively precede the middle of February, June, and October, the amount of fifty ſhillings *per* cwt. (excluſive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* ſugar exported is immediately to ceaſe for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to ceaſe during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month."

Such

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Hitherto, I have ſpoken of the drawback on *raw* ſugar only. I am now to ſhew that my obſervations apply equally to that which is *refined*; by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but little more than merely a modification of the drawback; the money allowed beyond the original duty being an allowance not more than adequate to the loſs of weight in the raw commodity for which the full duties have been paid by the importer, and the loſs of intereſt thereon, between the time of the payment thereof, and the time of the receipt of the bounty.

The proportions of refined ſugar &c. procured by melting 112 lbs. of raw ſugar, have been aſcertained

Such is the outline of this act, on which what I have already ſaid in the text, is perhaps a ſufficient comment; yet it may not be improper to take ſome notice of the great argument which was urged in ſupport of the meaſure in the Houſe of Commons; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade ſyſtem. But the corn trade laws, though deſigned to reduce prices, are alſo contrived *to encourage production.* They therefore check exportation when the prices are high, *and give a bounty on exportation when the prices are low.* If the ſugar bill had been formed on the ſame principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the commodity at a fair medium between the publick and the planter, it would have reduced the bounty when above the ſtandard, and either raiſed the bounty, or taken off the home duty when below it in ſuch proportions as to keep the balance even. In its preſent ſhape the act operates wholly againſt the planters.

certained by the committee of London refiners as follows; viz. CHAP. V.

	lbs.
Refined ſugar in loaves and lumps -	56 $\frac{5}{20}$
Baſtard or ground ſugar - - - - -	22 $\frac{5}{20}$
Melaſſes or treacle - - - - - -	28 $\frac{15}{20}$
Scum and dirt - - - - - - - -	4 $\frac{15}{20}$
	112 lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will ſtand as follows; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On loaf ſugar - lbs. 56 $\frac{5}{20}$ - at 26 *s.*	—	13	— $\frac{1}{4}$
baſtards - 22 $\frac{5}{20}$ - at 15 *s.*	—	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
	—	16	—
Duty paid - - - - - - - -	—	15	—
Difference -	—	1	—

So that the *apparent* loſs to the revenue ariſing from the bounty is one ſhilling the cwt. and no more. But as every hogſhead of ſugar loſes conſiderably in weight, after the duty is paid, and before it is either exported or worked up, and as by the preſent ſtrict regulations reſpecting tare, the duty is frequently paid for more ſugar than the caſks really contain, it is but a moderate cal-

 culation

culation to ſay that every hogſhead (taking good ſugars and bad together) loſes 56 lbs. which at 15 *s. per* cwt. the import duty, makes 7*s.* 6*d. per* hogſhead loſs to the planter, and a clear and certain gain to the revenue, let the ſugar be diſpoſed of as it may. Thus therefore is government reimburſed for a conſiderable part of what it appears to loſe by the bounty, and the intereſt which it gains by a depoſit of the whole duties on importation, makes up the remainder. The average annual import of raw ſugar is about 160,000 hogſheads of 12 cwt. nett: now ſuppoſing every ounce of this was to be exported, and receive the drawback of 15 *s. per* cwt. yet from the difference of weight alone in the ſame ſugar, occaſioned by an unavoidable waſte, government would have received in duties, from this ſingle article, between 50 and £. 60,000 *per annum* more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the ſame commodity.

The above is a plain ſtatement of facts concerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by government on the export of ſugar from Great Britain.—Of the ſyſtem at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home conſumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been ſaid by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means

establishes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which center in herself, she has no just reason to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to resort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different shape perhaps, but in more than a tenfold proportion, with the other; and no considerate statesman will easily be persuaded to think such a system improvident and prejudicial *(i)*.

I AM

(i) Thus, in a tract by William Penn, intituled "The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies," that celebrated legislator expresses himself in the following terms:

"I deny the vulgar opinion against plantations, that they "weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so "strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: First, "those that go into a foreign plantation, their industry there, "is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of "their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to "those of this country: for instance, what is an improved "acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in "England? We know it is three times the value, and the "product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in "English growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia shews, "that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thou-"sand pounds weight of tobacco, and twenty barrels of corn "yearly: he feeds himself, and brings as much of the "commodity into England besides, as being returned in the "growth and workmanship of this country, is much more "than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered, "that the three thousand weight of tobacco briugs in two

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I AM now brought to the third ground of objection; comprehending a ſubject of wider extent and more important conſideration, than either of thoſe which I have diſcuſſed in this chapter; and on

" thouſand two-pences by way of cuſtom to the king, which " makes twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Se- " condly, *more being produced and imported than we can ſpend here,* " *we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings in money,* " *or the growth of thoſe countries, which is the ſame thing; and this* " *is the advantage of the Engliſh merchants and ſeamen.*"

To the ſame purport writes Doctor Charles Davenant, who, if I miſtake not, held the very ſame employment of Inſpector of the exports and imports which is now exerciſed with ſuch ſuperior ability by Mr. Irving. " By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (ſaid Dr. Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by ſo much, a gainer.* There is a limited ſtock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no paſſing. As for example, there is ſuch a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own conſumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewiſe a limited quantity of theſe goods which foreign conſumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we ſhould be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourſelves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant ſtates the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at £.950,000 *per annum,* " whereof (ſaith he) £.350,000 being conſumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, *and the remainder, viz.* £.600,000 *being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.*"

To the foregoing authorities might likewiſe be added thoſe of the honeſt and intelligent Joſhua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but perhaps, to a common underſtanding,

on which, prejudice, ſelf-intereſt, ignorance, and miſinformation, have jointly contributed to throw a veil of obſcurity; I mean the privilege which is veſted in the planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, of ſupplying the Britiſh market with their chief ſtaple commodities, in excluſion of foreigners; the high duties on foreign ſugars, and ſome other products of the Weſt Indies, operating (as they were meant to do) ſo as to prohibit their importation. CHAP. V.

THE leading principle of colonization in all the maritime ſtates of Europe, Great Britain among the reſt, was, as I have elſewhere obſerved, *commercial monopoly*.—The word monopoly, in this caſe, admitted a very extenſive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly of ſupply, the monopoly

underſtanding, the concluſion is too clear and ſelf-evident to require illuſtration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products, is juſt as beneficial to the Britiſh trade as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother-country, and equally encreaſes the balance of trade in her favour.* I ſhall therefore only obſerve further, that the export of ſugar alone from this kingdom for the ſupply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 cwt. of raw, and 278,391 cwt. of refined, which, at the rate of 45*s.* *per* cwt. for the raw, and of 90*s.* *per* cwt. for the refined, added £. 1,600,000 ſterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother-country, and enabled her to pay more than one-half the ſum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the intereſt or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the Britiſh funds.

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nopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the firſt, the coloniſts were prohibited from reſorting to foreign markets for the ſupply of their wants; by the ſecond, they were compelled to bring their chief ſtaple commodities to the mother-country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured ſtate, that her own manufacturers might ſecure to themſelves all the advantages ariſing from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried ſo far in the colonial ſyſtem of Great Britain, as to induce the late earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that the Britiſh coloniſts in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horſe-ſhoe.*

As a compenſation for theſe reſtrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother-country, the coloniſts became poſſeſſed of certain commercial advantages; among others, of the privilege beforementioned—the ſubject of our preſent diſcuſſion—that of an excluſive acceſs to the Britiſh market for the ſale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent ſtaple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Britain, in

in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to eſtabliſh. It was the baſis of her commercial intercourſe with her trans-atlantick plantations, and ſhe terms it herſelf a ſyſtem of "correſpondence and kindneſs *(k)*." Whether it was an arrangement founded in wiſdom and ſound policy, it is now too late to enquire. It has exiſted, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the coloniſts have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. It is preſumed that nothing more than this, is neceſſary to demonſtrate that, if there is any ſecurity in the national faith, ſolemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the ſyſtem is become a fixed and permanent *compact*; which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fulleſt compenſation to the other, but on principles which, if admitted, may ſerve to juſtify a departure from the ordinary rules of juſtice on any occaſion.

First then, as to the monopoly exerciſed by Great Britain of ſupplying their wants:—The coloniſts are prohibited from purchaſing of foreigners, not only thoſe articles which Great Britain can ſupply from her own reſources, but alſo

(k) Preamble to the 15 C. II. Ch. 7.

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many which she is herself obliged to purchase from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered necessary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expence of which, and all other profits, being added to the cost of the goods, the extra price which the colonists pay is clearly so much profit to her, and loss to them. The commodities, which the British colonies in the West Indies might purchase on cheaper terms than at the British market, are various. East Indian Goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reasonably in America *(l)*. Germany would supply the coarser linens, an article of vast consumption in negro clothing, and France would furnish soap and candles, silk manufactures of all kinds, cambricks, wines, and a thousand other articles of less importance. From the United States of America also might be obtained bar and pig-iron, salted beef and pork, salted and pickled fish, train and spermaceti oil, and some few manufactures, as beaver hats, and spermaceti candles, &c. *(m)*. All these are arti-

(l) The Tea imported by the Americans in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 *per cent.* lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

(m) The export of salted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37s. sterling the barrel; of the beef 28s.

cles

cles of vaſt conſumption, and are now ſupplied excluſively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immenſe amount, and in Britiſh veſſels only; and ſo rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother-country, that not only the convenience and neceſſities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful ſacrifice has even been made to the ſyſtem, of the lives of 15,000 of their miſerable negroes, as the reader has elſewhere been informed!

On the ſame principle, to increaſe the ſhipping and naval power of the mother-country, the coloniſts are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themſelves of the cheapneſs and ſecurity of neutral bottoms, in ſending their produce to the Britiſh-market. By this ſecond monopoly, Great Britain has ſecured to herſelf a preference of the whole world in the ſale of their ſtaple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of thoſe nations from whom ſhe was formerly ſupplied, (as the Portugueſe for inſtance, who had the original monopoly of ſugar) and over whoſe exports ſhe has no controul. That this is an advantage of no ſmall account, appears from the following circumſtance recorded by the author of an *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations.* "About the beginning of the preſent century (ſays that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raiſe the price of their commodities

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dities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ſhips, at their own price, and in ſuch quantities as they thought proper. It is ſurely unneceſſary to obſerve, that no ſuch ſelfiſh policy can at any time be diſplayed by the ſubordinate and dependent governments of the colonies.

But the circumſtance that preſſes with the greateſt weight on the Britiſh planters in the Weſt Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reſerving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all ſuch improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw ſtate, or firſt ſtage of manufacture, prohibits the coloniſts from refining their great ſtaple commodity (ſugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of £.4. 18*s.* 8*d.* *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf ſugar imported, while raw or muſcavado pays only 15*s.* The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (ſays the author before quoted) *(n)* from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the Weſt Indian planters have

(n) Wealth of Nations.

hitherto

hitherto ſubmitted without a murmur, conſidering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

The great hardſhip on the planters in this caſe is, that the loſs to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumſtance is not fully underſtood, the ſubject not having, to my knowledge, been diſcuſſed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I ſhall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this reſtriction.

The firſt advantage would be an entire ſaving of the loſs which is now ſuſtained in the quantity of raw ſugar, between the time of ſhipping in the Weſt Indies, and the day of ſale in Great Britain, ariſing chiefly from unavoidable waſte at ſea by drainage. To aſcertain this loſs with all poſſible exactneſs, I have compared in a great many inſtances, the invoice weights taken at the time of ſhipping, with the ſale weights of the ſame goods in the merchants' books in London; and I will venture to fix the loſs, on the average of good and bad ſugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogſhead of ſugar weighing nett 16 cwt. when ſhipped in Jamaica, ſhall, when ſold in London, be found to weigh 14 cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loſs both to the publick and the

BOOK VI. the planter. The former loſe the uſe of two hundred pounds weight of ſugar, and the latter, is deprived of its value, which, at 40*s.* *per* cwt. may be ſtated at £.3. 6*s.* *per* hogſhead, the merchant's charges deducted.

But this circumſtance requires further illuſtration. The quantity of raw or muſcavado ſugar imported into Great Britain, on an average of four years, (1787 to 1790, both incluſive) was ſomewhat more than 140,000 hogſheads of 14 cwt. at the King's beam. The drainage at ſea amounted therefore to 280,000 cwt. being in value £.560,000 ſterling.—Such is the loſs to the publick; and let it be remembered, that this loſs is not merely contingent or poſſible, but plain, poſitive, and certain; it being as undeniably true, that 280,000 cwt. or 14,000 ton, of ſugar was ſunk into the ſea, in the tranſportation of 140,000 hogſheads of the raw commodity, as that this number was imported into Great Britain; and it is equally certain, that every ounce of it would have been ſaved, if the planters had been permitted to refine the commodity in the colonies. The conſequent loſs to the revenue is eaſily calculated.

Concerning the planter however, other circumſtances are to be taken into the account; for in this caſe he has a right to reckon not only on what he poſitively loſt in the firſt inſtance, but

alſo,

alſo, on what he might probably have gained under a different ſyſtem of regulations. I have ſtated his actual loſs (the merchant's charges deducted) at £. 3. 6 *s.* *per* hogſhead; but another and a very conſiderable loſs, is the melaſſes, of which 112 lbs. of raw ſugar yield in the London refinery 28¾ lbs.: I will ſay 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogſhead of raw ſugar at the ſhipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued at 9 *d.* ſterling *per* gallon, gives £. 2. 8 *s.* It will be ſaid perhaps that the Britiſh refiner includes the value of the melaſſes produced in the refinery, in the eſtimate of his profits, and is thereby enabled to give a larger price for raw ſugar to the planter, who thus receives payment for the article ſaid to be loſt. It muſt be remembered, however, that the ſugar-planter in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is his own diſtiller; and having the neceſſary buildings, ſtills, &c. already provided, would convert this melaſſes into rum, without any additional expence; and by this means add to its value ſomewhat more than one-third. This additional value therefore would be clear profit. Thus, allowing 64 gallons of melaſſes to produce only 40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, theſe, at 1 *s.* 10 *d.* ſterling the gallon, would yield £. 3. 13 *s.* 4 *d.*: from which the original melaſſes being deducted, there will

remain

remain £. 1. 5 *s.* 4 *d.* which may therefore be eftimated as the lofs now fuftained by the planter in the article of melaffes, on every hogfhead of mufcavado fugar fhipped to Great Britain, exclufive of the lofs in the raw material before ftated.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added the faving of freight, on the difference between the weight of raw and refined fugar; but I will reckon nothing on this account, becaufe I am of opinion that any given quantity of refined fugar made into loaves, though lefs in weight, will neverthelefs occupy more fpace than the full quantity of raw fugar from which it is made. It is therefore reafonable to fuppofe, that the price of freight would be advanced in proportion; a circumftance which ought to obviate all manner of objection to the fyftem, from the owners of fhips employed in its tranfportation.

But the great and decifive advantage that would accrue to the planter from refining his own fugar in the colonies, arifes from the circumftance that his capital, or ftock, is already provided to his hands; without which the favings that have been ftated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he poffeffes the raw material, but alfo, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requifite for the manufacture of mufcavado fugar, are, with a very fmall addition, all that

that are wanted for the bufinefs of refining (*o*). The neceffary additions on each plantation would confift chiefly of a drying-houfe, provided with ftoves for baking the loaves, and an annual fupply of earthern veffels or moulds in which the loaves are formed; with the further provifion of negro labourers to be employed folely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole muft be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to afcertain fome rule for judging of this with as much precifion as the fubject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will obferve generally, that an allowance of forty fhillings fterling for each hogfhead of mufcavado fugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This fum therefore I fhall deduct from the difference of price at the Britifh market between raw and refined fugar, which otherwife would be fo much clear profit to the planter. The Englifh refiner

CHAP. V.

(*o*) The planters of Jamaica frequently refine fugar for domeftick ufe, and I have feen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a procefs has been difcovered of refining mufcavado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great fuccefs. I faw myfelf refined fugar made by him at Hyde Hall plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for tranfparency and elegance furpaffed the fineft treble refined produced by the London refiners.

not

not having the ſame advantages, has to deduct the intereſt of a much larger proportionate capital and far greater expences in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs. of raw ſugar ſold in London may be reckoned, when the prices are favourable, to yield the planter clear of all charges £. 1. 13*s.* The ſame quantity refined, would yield of loaves and baſtards to the value of £. 2. 1 *s.* 5*d.* excluſive of the melaſſes. The difference is 8 *s.* 5 *d. per* hundred weight, or £. 5. 17 *s.* 10 *d.* the hogſhead of 14 cwt. Deduct from this the extra expence of refining in the colony (40 *s. per* hogſhead) there remains £. 3. 17 *s.* 10 *d.* which being added to the former ſums, it will be found that the whole loſs ſuſtained by the planter for the ſake of the Britiſh refinery, is not leſs than £. 8. 9 *s.* 2 *d.* ſterling on every hogſhead of his ſugar of 16 cwt. which he ſends to the Engliſh market, amounting on 140,000 hogſheads to the prodigious ſum of £. 1,184,166. 13 *s.* 4 *d.* ſterling money! Perhaps the circumſtance may come more immediately home to the reader, by ſhewing how this loſs affects an individual. For inſtance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's plantations are, if I miſtake not, about two thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually. He ſuſtains therefore a loſs of £. 16,916. 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum,* that the Britiſh

British refiners may get about one-third of the money! CHAP. V.

It is however to be remembered, that the preceding calculations are founded on the supposition that leave was granted to import refined sugar into Great Britain, from the British colonies, at the duties which are now paid on raw or muscavado. I am apprized that the revenue would, in that case, sustain a loss proportionate to the diminution in the quantity of sugar imported, unless it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made up by an adequate increase of the duties on the improved commodity. With every allowance however on this account (as well as for an increased rate of freight) the planter's profits would be sufficiently great; and, in truth, refined sugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely such a rateable contribution; so that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved, by its importation, while the publick at large would obtain sugar in its best state much cheaper than they obtain it at present *(p)*.

Thus

(p) It is not my business to seek out resources for increasing the publick revenue, but as a matter of curiosity, I beg leave to subjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muscavado sugar imported from the British plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the gross duty paid thereon was £. 1,187,774. 12 *s.* 8*d.* If this

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Thus have I ſhewn the magnitude of the price at which the Britiſh coloniſts in the Weſt Indies have purchaſed, for a century paſt, the monopoly of the Britiſh market for their chief ſtaple commodities.

this ſugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been loſt at ſea by drainage. This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of baſtards (excluding fractions.) Now ſuppoſing the duty on loaf ſugar had been only 10*s* *per* cwt. more than the preſent duty on muſcavado (which it would have well afforded) and the baſtard ſugar to have continued at 15*s* *per* cwt. the Britiſh revenue in that caſe would have received as follows: (both the publick and the planter being at the ſame time benefited in a high degree) viz.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf - at 25*s* *per* cwt. - - - - - - - - - -	1,354,303	15	—
425,638 cwt. of baſtards, at 15*s* *per* cwt. - - - - - - -	319,228	10	—
Duties which might have been levied -	1,673,532	5	—
Duties actually paid in 1787 - - -	1,187,774	12	8
Difference in favour of the revenue - -	485,757	12	4

Such is the ſacrifice which is made by the planters of the Weſt Indies, and the publick of Great Britain, in ſupporting the private intereſts of that uſeleſs intermediate body of people, the ſugar refiners in England: who, whenever the caſualties of war, or providential calamities, have overtaken the Weſt Indies, and thereby created a temporary advance in the price of raw ſugar, have been the firſt to raiſe a clamour againſt

modities. It is monopoly for monopoly; an arrangement not framed by the colonies, but by the mother-country herſelf, who has ſuffered it to grow ſacred by time, has recognized it by a multitude of laws, and enforced it by ſtricter ties and recent proviſions. Well, therefore, did a great

againſt the monopoly of ſupply enjoyed by the planters, themſelves at the ſame time poſſeſſing the monopoly which I have deſcribed! It may not be uſeleſs to add, that thoſe people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of trade, *foreigners;* who live in the moſt frugal way in England (about one thouſand in the whole) and retire with their ſavings to their own country. There are few operations more ſimple, or which require a leſs expenſive apparatus, than that of refining ſugar. Can it then be juſt or reaſonable to ſacrifice to a manufacture, thus ſubordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the eſſential intereſts of 65,000 Britiſh ſubjects in the Weſt Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually loſt to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be ſupported? It is remarkable that the ſame obſervation occurred to Davenant, who wrote ſoon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, he proceeds in theſe words: "And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high impoſition laid upon refined ſugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the induſtry of at leaſt 14,000 perſons, which are about the number of thoſe who inhabit our iſlands producing ſugar." *(Davenant, Diſcourſe 3, on the Plantation Trade.)* What would this author have ſaid, had he known the fact which I have ſtated above?

great ſtateſman (*q*) obſerve, "that it was a compact more ſolemn than any that an act of parliament could create;" and when ſpeculative men aſſert, and intereſted men complain, that a compact thus founded and ſupported is at this time not ſufficiently favourable to Great Britain; the anſwer is obvious: If Great Britain regrets its operation and wiſhes to diſſolve it, let her firſt make compenſation to the coloniſts for all that they have undertaken, and the ſacrifice they have made, under it; and next, when ſhe releaſes herſelf from all future obligation to obſerve it, let the releaſe be reciprocal; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the coloniſts will have no cauſe to accuſe her of injuſtice,—but this not done, they will aſſert that ſhe has violated her faith with them; that her conduct is oppreſſive and fraudulent; and her ſtatutes ſnares to the unwary.

In the mean time, it is impoſſible not to conſider as exceedingly partial and unjuſt, thoſe clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of Weſt Indian products, the publick diſcontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our ſugar iſlands. They are partial, inaſmuch as their authors conſider the burthens and wants of the conſumers on one ſide, without ad-

(*q*) Mr. Fox.

verting

verting to the burthens and diſtreſſes of the colo-niſts on the other. They are unjuſt, as their manifeſt aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whoſe trade is not ſubject to be controuled by Britiſh laws, thoſe advantages which have been purchaſed by, and ſtand excluſively pledged to, the Britiſh Weſt Indies, whoſe trade is ſtill to be left bound by our regulations.—At this juncture indeed, now that the largeneſs of the exportation has demonſtrated, that no foreign colonies in the Weſt Indies can ſupply us with ſugar, cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extenſive miſchief, is reſorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vaſt and profitable ſugar culture, under the foſtering protection of government, in the boundleſs regions of the Eaſt Indies. Thoſe plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which from proximity and inſular ſituation, are eaſily defended; which enrich our manufacturers, encourage our fiſheries, and return all their acquirements into the boſom of their alienated parent, are it ſeems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to diſtant independent countries, whoſe inhabitants purchaſe but few of our commodities, and conſume none of our fiſh, but take bullion inſtead of them; who rather ſend manufactures to our markets, than receive them from us; and whoſe

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exports may be checked and controuled by a thoufand accidents which, at this diftance, can neither be obviated nor forefeen. In fhort, by recommending the fettlement of fugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wife to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the fword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to refort back to our ruined and deferted colonies in the Weft Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this fcheme is to open a fugar trade with the Eaft Indies, to Britifh fubjects without diftinction, it is neceffary he fhould be informed that nothing is farther from the thoughts of its advocates and promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the Weft Indies, to the monopolifts of the Eaft; being well apprized that a great importation of fugar, for a few years, from India, would effectually ftop the cultivation of this article in the Britifh colonies, after which the market would be their own; and the fupply, as in the cafe of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be encreafed or diminifhed, as the intereft of the importer, not of the publick, fhould regulate and direct.

For myſelf, I am unwilling to believe that the Britiſh government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the ſugar iſlands; and therefore cannot be perſuaded that ſuch a project will ever receive the ſanction and ſupport of adminiſtration. The planters however, judging of the future by the paſt, have abundant cauſe for anxiety and alarm; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly Weſt Indian to expoſtulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's miniſters on the treatment which thoſe colonies have experienced from the mother-country, during the laſt twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might diſplay a ſtatement of facts,—unpleaſant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a perſon might, without any deviation from truth, preſent them with a detail not unlike the following *(r)*:

"It is well known (he might ſay) that the ſufferings of thoſe colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great; and that at the concluſion of the war, ſuch of the planters as ſurvived the vexations of the enemy, and were not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were, were reduced to embarraſſments nearly approaching to it. For the honour of the

(r) See *The Caſe of the Sugar Colonies,* from whence this detail is copied almoſt verbatim.

Britiſh name it ought to be recorded, that no ſooner was an iſland taken from under the Britiſh protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purpoſes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your veſſels of war cruized upon them, and made prize of our effects, wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection againſt your depredations; until the higheſt authorities in the law had pronounced ſuch conduct to be illegal; and parliament interfered to facilitate the paſſage of the products of Grenada, which having ſurrendered at diſcretion, were ſtill expoſed to capture. Even the hurricane, that moſt awful viſitation of Providence, which uſually arreſts the vengeance of men, and by exciting ſofter affections, diſpoſes them to acts of fraternity, loſt its uſual effect of procuring a paſſage even for the neceſſaries of life; and thoſe whom the ſtorm had ſpared, your rapacity would have ſtarved.

"THE war ceaſed, and with it the dominion of France over all the iſlands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity); but our miſeries ſtill ſurvived; for the treaty of 1782 which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hoſtilities to the ſugar colonies; as they have never ceaſed from that time to the preſent, to be haraſſed with vexa-

tions

tions of one kind or another. The firſt meaſure by which they were annoyed, aroſe in the policy of the ſtate. It was thought neceſſary to diſſolve their connexion with the continent of North America. The conſequence of which was, that Jamaica, being deprived of its produce of negro proviſions by a ſeries of tempeſts and unfavourable ſeaſons, loſt fifteen thouſand of her ſlaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity *as if it were a national virtue*!

"WHAT ſince has been the diſpoſition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular converſation at this day; from the conduct of large bodies aſſociated for the abolition of the ſlave-trade, and ultimately of ſlavery itſelf; from the eſtabliſhments projected and in execution, on the coaſt of Africa, with views declaredly hoſtile to our intereſts; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily iſſue from the preſs to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters in the publick opinion; from the indefatigable circulation of addreſſes, exhorting the people to the diſuſe of Weſt Indian ſugar; and laſtly, from various propoſals with reſpect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In ſo many ſhapes does this ſpirit manifeſt itſelf, as to give juſt grounds to conclude, that ſomething like a decided purpoſe is entertained for the total ruin of the ſugar colonies, and that

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that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the ſyſtem which is to be conſummated by the grand meaſure of raiſing up rivals to our monopoly in your eſtabliſhments in the eaſt.

"It has been imputed as a reproach to the ſugar colonies, that they are expenſive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the Weſt Indian colonies the cauſe of war; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cauſe it may ariſe, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war; they are the victims, but never the origin of the conteſt. The inhabitants of the French and Engliſh iſlands live in an habitual intercourſe of good offices, and would wiſh for eternal peace; and they have reaſon for it, for what are they to gain by war?

"When therefore we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters, we find ourſelves totally at a loſs to conjecture what it is that could excite ſo much acrimony againſt us; as there exiſts none of thoſe cauſes, which uſually provoke the envy of men, and exaſperate their malignity. The Weſt Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantick opulence, or an oſtentatious diſplay of it. They do not emerge

rapidly

rapidly from poverty and insignificance into conspicuous notice. Such of them as possess fortunes of distinguished magnitude, as some gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earliest records of the island, and their adventures were coeval with the first establishment of the colony, and of course their properties, such as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of successive generations. Many there are indeed who have competencies that enable them to live, with œconomy, in this country; but the great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments. Such times as we have lately seen, if suffered to continue, might possibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their distresses. But it seems that poverty is considered as the legitimate heritage of every West Indian planter. They may encounter loss, and struggle with adversity; but never are they to profit of contingencies that may enable them to repair the disasters of adverse fortune, to which they are peculiarly subjected by their position.

"If the minister means the ruin of the West Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extensive

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extensive cultivation of the sugar-cane in the East Indies, with a view to the supply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppose to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our resentments impotent; but it would be a base desertion of interest, to suffer ourselves to be intimidated into a voluntary surrender of right. We protest therefore against any innovation, and adhere to the system of double monopoly: there we are at anchor; and if there is no security any where against the storms and afflictions of Providence, so neither is there against the injustice of men; but we shall at least have the consolation of not suffering the reproaches of our own bosoms, or of leaving accusers in our posterity!"

To such a remonstrance as the foregoing, respectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to say, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wish or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehensions on that head may be easily removed. In this important business satisfaction being given, to the rest, if candour were to dictate an answer, although much must be admitted, much too might be said, and honestly said, to soften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harsh and unkind the conduct of the mother-country has occasionally

ſionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they poſſeſs; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion and liberty; deriving from her parental ſolicitude and powerful protection, every circumſtance that renders them proſperous in themſelves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and deſtructive war which terminated in the diſmemberment of the empire, they had their ſhare—perhaps more than their ſhare—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had ſuffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were reſtored by the peace to the bleſſings of a Britiſh conſtitution and government. Perhaps, ſince that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might in ſome points have been wiſhed and expected; but it ſhould be remembered, that they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compenſation for commercial reſtraint, the privilege of the Britiſh market, and the benefit of the Britiſh capital. They poſſeſs too, every characteriſtick mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed ſolely by their own repreſentatives, and have not only the image, but the ſubſtance alſo, of an Engliſh conſtitution. This whole ſtate of commercial ſervitude and civil liberty (as a great writer *(s)* hath well obſerved) taken together, though certainly

(s) Mr. Burke.

not

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not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with the ordinary circumſtances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenuous, I truſt I need not offer any apology for thus having ſuggeſted conſiderations, which may tend to obviate miſapprehenſions, remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between thoſe, who though divided by local ſituation, are allied to each other by the deareſt ties of intereſt, affection, and conſanguinity. I have thought this the more neceſſary, as it appears, by the bitterneſs and acrimony with which ſome men ſpeak of the ſugar colonies, that their aim is to inſtigate the national reſentment, and heighten the publick animoſity towards them. Inſtead of maniſeſting a diſpoſition, "fond to ſpread friendſhips and to cover heats," theſe gentlemen ſeem to me to exert their talents in miſrepreſentations, which can anſwer no other end than to ſet the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of thoſe fanatical writings on ſlavery and the ſlave trade, which, equally diſgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the moſt daring and outrageous falſehoods without ſcruple or ſhame. I allude to authors of a very different ſtamp; to perſons who, having the means of better information, and poſſeſſing abilities to influence the publick opinion, have ſuffered

ſuffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man perſonally intereſted in the welfare of the ſugar colonies, I have attempted, by diſplaying their importance and value, to point out the wiſdom and neceſſity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindneſs on the one ſide, I have, as a loyal and dutiful ſubject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the coloniſts reflect ſoberly, I am perſuaded they will perceive that, in a conteſt with the mother-country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may diſpoſe to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the ſtrength, proſperity, and glory of Great Britain.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

CONTAINING

TABLES

OF

WEST INDIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

TO AND FROM

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

Made up from RETURNS to the Houſe of Commons in

GREAT BRITAIN,

And from OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS in IRELAND.

TABLES.

No. I.

An ACCOUNT of the Value of the WEST INDIA IMPORTS into GREAT BRITAIN, according to the Rates in the Inspector General's Office *,

FOR THE FOLLOWING YEARS; VIZ.

YEARS.	VALUE.	YEARS.	VALUE.
1698	£. 629,533	1723	£. 1,087,254
1699	586,255	1724	1,160,568
1700	824,246	1725	1,359,185
1701	738,601	1726	1,222,511
1702	476,168	1727	1,039,513
1703	626,488	1728	1,498,023
1704	489,906	1729	1,515,421
1705	706,574	1730	1,571,608
1706	537,744	1731	1,310,580
1707	604,889	1732	1,315,458
1708	592,750	1733	1,618,013
1709	645,689	1734	1,141,068
1710	780,505	1735	1,460,609
1711	556,198	1736	1,423,039
1712	648,190	1737	946,423
1713	762,248	1738	1,475,910
1714	843,390	1739	1,566,838
1715	999,412	1740	1,185,107
1716	1,104,188	1741	1,402,986
1717	1,204,057	1742	1,309,886
1718	896,031	1743	1,404,610
1719	875,358	1744	1,156,932
1720	1,117,576	1745	1,024,097
1721	852,529	1746	1,148,124
1722	1,015,617	1747	941,116

* No alteration has been made in the Rate of Value of this Office since the year 1697.—According to the prices in the market, for some years past, the actual value would greatly exceed the Inspector's calculation.

YEARS.	VALUE.	YEARS.	VALUE.
1748	£.1,615,122	1774	£.3,574,702
1749	1,478,075	1775	3,688,795
1750	1,514,452	1776	3,340,949
1751	1,444,775	1777	2,840,802
1752	1,428,824	1778	3,059,922
1753	1,838,137	1779	2,836,489
1754	1,462,601	1780	2,612,236
1755	1,867,256	1781	2,023,546
1756	1,687,177	1782	2,612,910
1757	1,906,147	1783	2,820,387
1758	1,858,425	1784	3,531,705
1759	1,833,646	1785	4,400,956
1760	1,861,668	1786	3,484,025
1761	1,953,622	1787	3,758,087
1762	1,762,406	1788	4,307,866
1763	2,254,231	1789	3,917,301
1764	2,391,552	1790	3,854,204
1765	2,196,549	1791	3,651,611
1766	2,704,114	1792	4,128,047
1767	2,690,673	1793	4,339,613
1768	2,942,717	1794	5,294,742
1769	2,686,714	1795	4,645,972
1770	2,110,026	1796	4,541,217
1771	2,979,378	1797	5,173,069
1772	3,530,082	1798	6,390,658
1773	2,902,407		

No. II.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported into *England*, between the 5th of January 1699 and the 5th of January 1755, and thereafter into *Great Britain*, to the 5th of January 1775; also, An Account, for the same periods, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS Exported: Distinguishing each year, and the Raw from the Refined.

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported.		
YEARS.	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1699	427,573	2	25	182,325	2	4	14,302	0	20
1700	489,326	1	7	165,391	3	16	17,644	2	23
1701	435,465	1	21	133,917	3	11	3,475	1	17
1702	259,662	3	6	45,036	1	5	2,908	2	24
1703	408,914	0	1	84,016	2	26	621	1	25
1704	315,837	2	12	133,743	1	8	1,339	0	15
1705	370,157	1	7	71,822	1	7	690	3	18
1706	335,873	3	3	107,217	0	16	1,846	2	23
1707	388,267	3	26	131,832	2	25	2,156	2	13
1708	377,107	2	11	64,180	3	6	2,365	1	18
1709	397,570	3	12	74,377	3	23	924	0	18
1710	507,662	1	21	117,075	2	5	2,146	2	21
1711	366,394	1	26	82,142	2	24	1,800	2	16
1712	423,541	0	1	119,567	1	8	8,579	2	18
1713	503,528	1	8	184,609	0	12	3,493	1	10
1714	512,221	3	0	158,996	3	6	3,482	3	5
1715	617,414	3	11	143,337	1	13	4,481	3	14
1716	684,759	2	16	161,941	3	3	4,549	0	1
1717	763,175	3	14	290,179	2	11	9,993	0	2
1718	566,885	0	1	124,375	1	13	13,188	1	9
1719	514,634	0	25	167,622	0	20	3,644	2	19
1720	706,385	3	20	121,778	0	9	3,106	3	7
1721	497,611	0	21	66,743	3	11	3,786	2	25
1722	616,941	0	9	83,609	2	5	5,345	2	2
1723	660,766	2	9	63,479	1	7	4,914	2	12
1724	729,133	2	13	110,088	1	11	5,177	2	19
1725	851,952	2	25	147,408	2	1	6,293	3	5
1726	668,346	1	9	146,915	3	22	8,414	2	7
1727	645,158	0	1	112,699	3	21	11,073	3	1
1728	972,240	0	1	210,320	3	23	29,134	1	4
1729	994,761	3	24	158,746	2	13	13,686	1	2
1730	1,024,078	2	3	167,980	1	12	14,538	0	23
1731	818,277	1	12	95,832	0	1	21,077	2	26
1732	822,844	3	15	121,904	3	18	16,511	3	18
1733	1,001,784	2	0	102,274	0	5	27,008	2	5
1734	695,679	3	9	44,932	0	8	13,275	0	26
1735	903,634	2	22	69,899	2	25	21,070	1	0
1736	877,591	0	24	58,569	3	26	19,706	2	24
1737	550,900	1	10	40,779	3	17	11,331	3	6
1738	864,252	1	0	49,437	1	6	9,197	1	23
1739	951,073	3	4	63,149	0	3	15,881	2	10
1740	706,947	0	8	67,144	2	16	15,046	1	9
1741	886,124	1	0	68,450	0	3	19,449	3	15

	Imported.			Raw Sugars Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported.		
YEARS.	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1742	731,410	3	11	50,231	0	10	12,599	3	24
1743	895,134	1	26	151,126	3	11	26,624	3	14
1744	724,411	2	14	58,198	0	19	17,687	0	2
1745	655,199	3	0	78,344	3	9	17,689	0	11
1746	753,472	1	19	92,826	2	22	13,616	3	27
1747	608,458	2	14	51,935	1	15	10,111	0	1
1748	982,588	2	13	115,727	1	11	10,801	3	21
1749	933,271	3	9	127,921	1	0	30,928	2	2
1750	915,344	2	5	107,964	0	22	21,846	3	15
1751	825,936	2	0	43,769	3	6	22,325	2	15
1752	825,121	1	16	35,712	2	16	13,508	3	20
1753	1,114,084	3	26	55,687	2	6	11,224	3	7
1754	859,131	2	12	42,818	2	17	12,298	1	15
1755	1,202,679	3	14	110,853	0	26	14,364	2	1
1756	1,051,265	3	6	206,336	2	0	30,017	3	2
1757	1,230,843	0	20	70,625	0	9	16,758	0	23
1758	1,145,628	2	3	220,824	3	14	62,771	3	0
1759	1,199,682	2	26	174,234	0	9	107,626	2	10
1760	1,374,720	2	5	143,683	1	23	58,650	3	18
1761	1,491,317	3	16	393,324	0	13	108,891	1	7
1762	1,444,581	1	4	322,253	2	7	87,033	2	23
1763	1,732,174	1	5	413,199	3	22	102,514	3	19
1764	1,488,079	0	15	197,579	0	25	176,302	3	23
1765	1,227,159	3	18	149,125	1	5	114,851	2	0
1766	1,522,732	2	19	129,236	2	4	27,602	0	10
1767	1,538,834	1	8	209,533	1	25	35,968	1	12
1768	1,651,512	2	14	227,193	3	21	39,273	2	27
1769	1,525,070	0	5	216,384	0	0	34,041	2	16
1770	1,818,229	1	23	199,738	1	9	43,609	1	19
1771	1,492,096	2	24	195,859	1	1	55,210	0	13
1772	1,786,045	0	1	173,661	1	3	31,300	3	23
1773	1,762,387	3	15	186,649	3	19	29,543	3	26
1774	2,015,911	1	15	223,250	0	2	34,089	0	14
1775	2,002,224	3	8	345,012	2	0	69,790	3	20

No. III.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of SUGAR Imported from the *British West India Islands* into *Great Britain*, in the under-mentioned Years; also, An Account, for the same Period, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS Exported from *Great Britain*; distinguishing the Quantity Exported to *Ireland*, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity Exported to Foreign Parts.

YEARS.	Quantity of British Plantation Sugar Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported to Ireland and other Parts of the Empire.			Refined Sugar Exported to Ireland and other Parts of the Empire.			Raw Sugar Exported to foreign Parts.			Refined Sugar Exported to foreign Parts.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1787 - -	1,926,121	0	3	196,636	3	20	24,261	2	0	2,779	1	16	52,473	3	19
1788 - -	2,065,700	0	12	138,681	3	19	17,150	3	9	6,575	0	20	58,250	2	6
1789 - -	1,935,223	2	21	149,351	2	0	20,506	1	17	4,461	3	15	118,033	1	22
1790 - -	1,882,005	0	17	127,104	1	3	13,968	1	17	15,011	2	15	105,892	2	1
Total - -	7,809,049	3	25	611,774	2	14	75,887	0	15	28,828	0	10	334,650	1	20
Average -	1,952,262	1	27	152,943	2	17	18,971	3	4	7,207	0	2	83,662	2	12

The following shews the ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of *Great Britain*, on an Average of the Four Years last above mentioned, viz.

	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
Imported——RAW SUGAR on an average as above - -	1,952,262	1	27
Exported——RAW and REFINED, the latter reduced to Raw -	296,996	1	11
Total of Home Consumption -	1,655,266	0	16, being equal to 118,233 hogsheads of 14 cwt.

		£.	s.	d.
GROSS DUTIES received in 1787 - -		1,188,083	1	10
Deduct Drawbacks - -	122,973 7 11 }	216,275	2	2
Bounties - -	93,301 14 3 }			
Net Produce - - - - - - -		971,807	19	8

		£.	s.	d.
GROSS DUTIES received in 1788 - -		1,273,920	15	0
Deduct Drawbacks - -	89,461 19 10 }	202,961	18	9
Bounties - -	113,499 18 11 }			
Net Produce - - - - - - -		1,070,958	16	3

		£.	s.	d.
GROSS DUTIES received in 1789 - - -		1,194,915	2	7
Deduct Drawbacks - -	99,808 19 $10\frac{1}{4}$ }	283,567	17	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Bounties - - -	183,758 17 3 }			
Net Produce - - - - - - - -		911,347	5	$5\frac{3}{4}$

No. IV.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported into, and of BRITISH PLANTATION and REFINED SUGAR Exported from *Great Britain*, in the following Years; with the Amount of the DUTIES collected on IMPORTATION, and of the DRAWBACKS and BOUNTIES paid on EXPORTATION.

YEARS	BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported.						BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Exported.						Net Produce of Duties subject to Charges of Management and Payment of Bounties, &c.			REFINED SUGAR Exported.					
	Quantity.			Grofs Duty.			Quantity.			Drawback.						Quantity.			Bounty.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	£.	*s.*	*d*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
1791	1,808,950	0	7	1,350,893	10	9	135,470	3	8	81,116	11	1	1,269,776	19	8	158,573	3	24	206,146	3	0
1792	1,981,479	1	14	1,486,047	17	9	239,561	2	21	171,928	15	1	1,314,119	2	8	226,217	0	9	301,808	10	8
1793	2,116,530	2	18	1,587,444	6	3	336,612	2	20	150,537	6	0	1,436,907	0	3	115,449	0	11	156,636	19	7
1794	2,336,416	0	13	1,752,253	8	0	429,362	3	4	381,072	4	2	1,371,181	3	10	303,715	2	26	361,473	5	8
1795	1,875,922	1	8	1,406,930	4	1	263,415	1	3	190,013	17	1	1,210,916	7	0	264,157	3	24	351,172	6	6
1796	1,951,612	0	19	1,463,759	6	10	183,306	3	6	135,240	5	4	1,328,519	1	6	187,223	0	23	249,685	17	6
1797	1,881,497	1	17	1,641,293	10	4	359,049	3	0	233,428	1	4	1,407,865	9	0	177,545	0	27	174,637	7	9
1798	2,361,715	0	8	2,070,377	2	7	532,399	1	23	305,354	3	2	1,765,022	19	5	238,440	1	2	216,659	15	9

No. V.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR and RUM Imported into and Exported from *Great Britain*, between the 5th Day of January 1798 and the 5th Day of January 1799; diftinguifhing the Places from whence the fame have been Imported; with the Amount of the Duties received, and the Drawbacks and Bounties paid thereon.——(*⁎* The Excife Duties on Rum are not included).

NAMES OF THE PLACES.	*IMPORTED.* SUGAR. Quantity.	SUGAR. Duty.	RUM. Quantity.	RUM. Duty.	*EXPORTED.* SUGAR. Quantity.	SUGAR. Drawback.	RUM. Quantity.	RUM. Drawback	REFINED SUGAR. Quantity.	REFINED SUGAR. Bounty.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	£. s. d.	*Gallons.*	£. s. d.	*cwt. qrs. lbs.*	£. s. d.	*Gallons.*	£. s.	*cwt. qrs. lbs.*	£. s. d.
Antigua -	86,822 2 6	— —	180,336							
Barbadoes -	159,969 1 20	— —	75,335							
Dominica -	49,294 3 27	— —	53,727							
Grenada -	107,641 3 5	— —	117,530							
Jamaica -	1,187,404 0 21	— —	2,948,644							
Montferrat	34,674 1 1	— —	65,137							
Nevis - -	46,379 3 13	— —	58,296							
St. Kitts -	100,142 0 0	— —	170,571							
St. Vincent	145,534 1 23	— —	142,385							
Tortola -	37,081 2 11	— —	53,095							
Martinique	218,380 3 22	— —	13,508							
Demarara -	30,244 2 11	— —	58,671							
Trinidada -	29 972 0 4	— —	3,803							
St. Domingo	24,534 3 1	— —	369							
Tobago -	103,637 2 11	— —	254,786							
Total -	2,361,715 0 8	2,070,377 2 7	4,196,193	95 996 6 5	532,399 1 23	305,354 3 2	333,093	5,866 10	238,440 1 2	216,659 15 9

For the following TABLES (which were not to be obtained at any Public Department in Great Britain) the Author is indebted to the Kindness of JOHN FORBES, *Esq; a very distinguished Member of the Irish Parliament, since deceased.*

No. VI.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity and Value of all GOODS Exported from *Ireland* to the *West Indies*, for the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792.

EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady Day, 1790.

Denominations.		Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value. £. s. d.
Ale	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120 0 0
Aquavitæ	*Gallons*	—	—	120	—	—	—	—	—	120	940 11 10
Bacon. Hams	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	144 3 21	—	350 1 0	—	—	—	—	0 0 14	495 1 7	
Bacon. Flitches	*Flitches.*	52	—	102	—	—	—	—	20	172	129 0 0
Beef	*Barrels.*	3,213	2,806½	15,012	24	391½	2,985	231½	11,293¾	35,957	62,924 15 0
Beer	*Barrels.*	120½	—	446	—	—	—	—	156	722	361 0 0
Bread	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	92 0 14	64 0 0	500 0 14	—	12 0 0	46 0 0	—	379 2 0	1,093 3 0	656 5 0
Bullion	*Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Butter	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1,328 1 7	2,898 1 21	9,811 1 14	11 0 0	311 0 0	3,742.2.7	419 1 21	4,374 3 21	22,897 0 7	48,656 0 0
Candles	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	226 2 0	363 0 21	590 1 0	1 2 0	98 0 0	204 0 0	85 0 0	504 2 0	2,072 3 21	3,869 12 0
Cards, Playing	*Doz. Packs.*	—	—	150	—	—	—	—	—	150	45 0 0
Cheese	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13 3 14	1 0 0	69 2 7	—	—	—	—	42 1 7	126 3 0	189 15 0
Cordage	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	40 0 0	—	60 0 0	—	—	—	—	60 0 0	160 0 0	224 0 0
Cyder	*Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Barley	*Barrels.*	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6	7 4 0
Corn. Beans	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	98	61 5 0
Corn. Oats	*Barrels.*	1,065	232	192	—	573	480	—	1,279½	3,821	1,432 17 6
Corn. Pease	*Barrels.*	1½	19	10¼	—	—	—	—	1	32	19 4 0
Corn. Wheat	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Drapy. New - - - Yards.	300	120	15,320	—	—	—	—	346	16,086	2,010 15 0
Drapy. Old - - - Yards.	750	720	143	—	—	—	—	—	1,613	537 13 4
Feathers - Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	3 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 3 0	8 8 9
Fish. Herrings - Barrels.	84	133½	5,801	30	—	474	—	648	7,170	7,170 0 0
Fish. Ling - Cwt. qrs. lbs.	5 2 0	3 3 0	18 2 0	—	0 1 15	15 3 0	—	8 3 20	52 3 7	158 5 0
Fish. Salmon - Tuns, Trs.	18 3	4 1	6 4½	—	5 0	1 2	—	6 4	41 6	492 0 0
Flannel - - - - Yards	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	—	80	4 0 0
Fustians - - - - Yards.	—	—	296	—	—	—	—	—	296	14 16 0
Glass. Cases - - - No.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass. Drinking - - Numb.	7,902	—	4,824	—	—	—	—	—	12,726	127 0 0
Glass. Ware - - - Value.	216 19 0	9 16 0	248 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	474 18 0	474 18 0
Gloves - - - - Pairs.	—	—	156	—	—	—	—	36	192	28 16 0
Groceries, Small Parcels Val.	3 0 0	—	8 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	11 10 0	11 10 0
Habery. Thread - - Pounds.	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2 2 0
Habery. Small Parcels - Value.	—	1 16 0	22 13 0	—	—	—	—	0 8 4	24 17 4	27 17 4
Hair. Cows - Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair. Horse - Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair Powder Cwt. qrs. lbs.	13 0 7	6 0 0	17 0 0	—	1 0 0	—	—	1 1 7	38 1 14	57 11 3
Hardware - - - Value.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hats - - - - - - Numb.	450	500	144	—	—	2	—	—	1,096	274 0 0
Hogs Lard - Cwt. qrs. lbs.	8 2 0	—	—	—	—	0 0 14	—	—	8 2 14	12 18 9
Hides. Tanned - - Num.	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	20 0 0
Hides. Ditto - - Cwt. qrs.	—	7 3 21	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 3 21	22 4 9
Hides. Untanned - Num.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	100	133 6 8
Horses - - - - - - No.	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	104	139	834 0 0
Iron. Wrought Cwt. qrs. lbs.	60 0 0	—	42 1 0	—	—	—	—	—	102 1 0	204 10 0
Iron. Small Parcels Value	—	3 10 0	1 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	4 10 0	4 10 0
Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - - Value.	1,362 15 4	794 10 0	3,002 10 3	—	—	—	—	977 0 0	6,136 15 7	6,136 15 7
Linen. Cambric - - Yards.	—	—	3,563	—	—	—	19	17¾	3,600	900 0 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain - Yards.	177,873	86,492	590,990	—	962	2,505	200	162,799	1,025,821	68,121 8 0
Linen. Coloured - - Yards.	8,883	3,965	57,035	—	—	—	—	1,778	71,661	5,822 9 1

(continued.)

— Year ending Lady Day 1790, *continued.* —

Denominations.		Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value.
Meal. Flour	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	129 1 21	129 1 21	£.172 0 0
Meal. Groats	*Barrels.*	—	10	8	—	—	—	—	—	18	9 0 0
Meal. Oatmeal	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	200 0 0	101 0 0	23 0 0	—	—	2 0 0	—	31 3 21	357 3 21	107 8 0
Millinery Ware	*Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mutton	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	1½	—	—	1½	2 5 0
Oil, Rape	*Tuns, Hhds. Gs.*	—	—	0 0 24	—	—	—	—	—	0 0 24	—
Paper, Writing	*Reams.*	—	6	67	—	—	—	—	—	73	24 6 8
Pork	*Barrels.*	2,022	3,617	9,378	10	88	1,083	26½	3,664	19,888	29,832 0 0
Sadlers Ware	*Value.*	80 10 0	2 0 0	67 7 0	—	—	—	3 12 0	16 7 6	169 19 6	169 19 6
Salt	*Bushels.*	—	—	156	—	—	—	—	4	160	10 0 0
Shoes	*Pounds.*	787	1,020	1,062½	—	—	112	—	2,428	5,409	1,352 0 0
Soap	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	45 1 7	56 1 14	799 3 21	1 0 0	32 3 0	8 3 0	—	118 2 14	1,062 3 0	1,770 0 0
Skins. Calf	*Doz. No.*	4 0	—	28 7	—	—	—	—	—	32 7	37 6 4
Skins. Goat	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	6 3 20	—	—	—	—	—	6 3 20	42 0 0
Stationary Ware	*Value.*	13 15 0	7 13 0	47 6 9	—	—	—	—	0 18 0	69 12 9	69 12 9
Stockings. Cotton	*Pairs.*	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	24	3 12 0
Stockings. Thread	*Pairs.*	—	—	108	—	—	—	—	24	132	16 10 0
Stockings. Woollen	*Pairs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	600	600	60 0 0
Starch	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	21 0 0	—	17 0 0	—	1 0 0	—	—	—	39 0 0	54 0 0
Stone Blue		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	804	804	23 9 0
Tallow	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	7 0 14	22 1 0	216 3 0	—	—	8 1 7	1 0 0	39 2 7	295 0 0	590 0 0
Tongues	*Dozens.*	394 6	238 10	1,046 10	3 0	—	160	26 0	368 0	2,237 2	1,398 2 0
Upholstery Ware	*Value.*	—	28 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	28 0 0	28 0 0
Wax Candles	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Small Parcels in general	*Value.*	158 10 1	103 3 5	348 15 3	—	32 13 4	105 3 4	7 10 0	269 7 8	1,025 3 1	1,025 3 1

Value of Exports in 1790 — £. 250,044 18 11

No. VI.——EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady-Day 1791.

Denominations.		Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montferrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	Weſt Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value.
Ale	*Barrels.*	—	60	152	—	—	—	—	—	212	£ 212 0 0
Aquavitæ	*Gallons.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bacon. Hams	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	57 0 0	67 2 0	91 1 21	—	—	—	—	50 0 0	265 3 21	505 8 0
Bacon. Flitches	*Flitches.*	—	—	210	—	—	—	—	354	564	423 0 0
Beef	*Barrels.*	2,056½	3,188	11,973½	—	111¾	2,281⅓	644⅔	10,225½	30,481	53,341 15 0
Beer	*Barrels.*	64	—	540	—	—	—	—	288	892	446 0 0
Bread	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	74 3 0	113 0 0	958 2 21	—	—	28 0 0	—	479 1 0	1,655 2 21	993 8 3
Bullion	*Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	150	45 0 0
Butter	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1,266 0 7	3,655 2 14	8,812 1 7	—	319 0 0	4,583.3.21	1,067.0.14	7,296 0 14	27,000.0.21	57,375 0 0
Candles	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	339 0 14	456 2 0	1,146 2 0	11 0 0	100 0 0	291 0 0	320 0 0	570 1 7	3,234 1 21	6,037 0 0
Cards, Playing	*Doz. Packs.*	—	—	128 4	—	—	—	—	—	128 4	38 18 0
Cheeſe	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	11 3 0	1 2 0	70 3 14	—	—	—	—	20 0 21	104 1 7	156 0 0
Cordage	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	21 0 0	75 1 14	280 0 0	—	—	—	—	170 0 0	546 1 14	764 18 0
Cyder	*Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	2 31½	—	—	—	—	—	2 31½	3 0 0
Corn. Barley	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Beans	*Barrels.*	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	871	971	606 17 0
Corn. Oats	*Barrels.*	1,253	556	715½	—	—	351	242	601½	3,719	1,394 12 6
Corn. Peaſe	*Barrels.*	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	3	1 16 0
Corn. Wheat	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	131	—	240	371	5[illegible]0 17 0
Drap. New	*Yards.*	—	52	724	—	—	—	—	35,122	35,898	4,487 5 0
Drap. Old	*Yards.*	150	—	452	—	—	—	—	—	602	200 13 4
Feathers	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	6 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 3 0	15 3 9

(continued.)

—Year ending Lady-Day 1791, *continued*.—

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value.
Fish. Herrings - - *Barrels.*	133	—	440	367	—	½	—	318	1,258	£1,258 0 0
Fish. Ling - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	4 0 25	2 3 20	16 0 0	—	0 2 20	5 1 18	0 2 20	11 1 14	41 1 5	123 0 0
Fish. Salmon - *Tuns, Trs.*	17 1	2 0	7 1	—	—	4½	5	20 3	57 6	684 0 0
Flannel - - - - *Yards.*	—	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	7 0 0
Fustians - - - - *Yards.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass. Cases - - - - *No.*	—	—	10½	—	—	—	—	—	10½	15 0 0
Glass. Drinking - - *Numb.*	3,600	1,200	2,592	—	—	—	—	—	7,392	75 0 0
Glass. Ware - - - *Value.*	90 0 0	36 10 0	527 9 6	—	—	5 0 0	—	0 10 0	659 9 6	659 9 6
Gloves - - - - *Pairs.*	—	324	2,592	—	—	—	—	—	2,916	437 8 0
Groceries, Small Parcels *Val.*	19 10 0	—	11 8 0	—	—	—	—	11 17 0	42 15 0	42 15 0
HaberY. Thread - - *Pounds.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	12	3 17 0
HaberY. Small Parcels - *Value.*	—	2 0 0	7 5 6	—	—	—	—	2 6 0	11 17 6	11 17 6
Hair. Cows - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	73 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	73 0 0	94 16 0
Hair. Horse - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	1 0 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 0 7	6 0 0
Hair Powder - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	10 0 0	26 2 0	131 3 21	—	—	300	—	28 0 0	199 1 21	299 3 1
Hardware - - - *Value.*	—	—	1 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	1 0 0	1 0 0
Hats - - - - - *Numb.*	—	36	519	—	—	400	—	24	979	244 15 0
Hogs Lard - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	3 1 21	30 0 0	54 0 7	—	—	—	—	—	87 2 0	130 10 0
Hides. Tanned - - - *Num.*	—	612	—	—	—	—	—	—	612	1,222 0 0
Hides. Ditto - - *Cwt. qrs.*	33 0 0	1 3 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	34 3 4	97 8 0
Hides. Untanned - - *Num.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Horses - - - - - *No.*	86	47	—	—	—	—	—	120	253	1,518 0 0
Iron. Wrought *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	152 0 0	—	—	—	—	180 0 0	332 0 0	664 0 0
Iron. Small Parcels - *Value.*	—	—	2 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	2 10 0	2 10 0

Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - - *Value.*	—	670 8 6	4,740 17 0	—	30 16 0	—	—	881 16 6	6,323 18 0	6,323 18 0
Linen. Cambric - - *Yards.*	—	—	1,257	—	—	—	—	2,265	3,522	880 10 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain - *Yards.*	214,405	97,404	1,126,348	—	—	10,545	1,873	303,384	1,753,959	116,930 12 0
Linen. Coloured - - *Yards.*	11,666	18,171	37,000	—	1,304	—	—	8,060	76,201	6,191 6 7
Meal. Flour - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	1 0 0	2,978 0 14	—	—	171 1 14	8 3 21	676 1 20	3,835 3 13	3,196 13 0
Meal. Groats - - *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Meal. Oatmeal *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	472 0 0	220 1 0	439 0 14	—	—	12 0 0	150 1 0	18 0 0	1,311 2 14	393 9 0
Millinery Ware - *Value.*	—	—	10 0 0	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
Mutton - - - - *Barrels.*	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1 10 0
Oil, Rape *Tuns, Hhds. Gas.*	—	—	31½	—	—	—	—	—	31½	—
Paper, Writing - *Reams.*	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1 6 8
Pork - - - - *Barrels.*	1,150	2,920	6,273	—	110	787	213	6,624	18,077	27,115 10 0
Sadlers Ware - - *Value.*	—	8 12 0	47 15 0	—	—	—	—	44 0 0	100 7 0	100 7 0
Salt - - - - - *Bushels.*	—	2½	135	—	—	—	—	—	137½	8 11 0
Shoes - - - - *Pounds.*	1,638	632	3,178	—	—	364	—	2,308	8,120	2,030 0 0
Soap - - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	151 3 21	194 3 2	2,075 2 14	8 0 0	—	59 1 0	23 0 0	451 1 21	2,964 0 2	4,940 0 0
Skins. Calf - - *Doz. No.*	3 0	—	10 10	—	—	—	—	—	13 10	16 6 8
Skins. Goat - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*										
Stationary Ware - *Value.*	—	7 6 0	14 2 0	—	—	—	—	2 1 0	23 9 0	23 9 0
Stockings. Cotton - - - *Pairs.*	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	24	3 12 0
Stockings. Thread - - - *Pairs.*										
Stockings. Woollen - - - *Pairs.*										
Starch - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	27 0 0	5 0 0	84 2 21	—	—	3 0 0	—	25 0 0	144 2 21	203 0 0
Stone Blue - - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tallow - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1 3 0	31 3 0	237 1 21	—	—	10 3 21	1 2 0	32 2 0	315 3 14	632 0 0
Tongues - - - *Dozens.*	139 0	170 0	1,083 6	—	15 0	108 6	44 0	331 2	1,891 2	1,181 0 0
Upholstery Ware - *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	—	—	5 0 0	5 0 0
Wax Candles - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	0 2 21	1 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	2 0 0	17 0 0
Small Parcels in general, *Value.*	57 10 8	96 5 6	349 3 0	—	1 5 6	92 12 9	4 14 0	262 14 8	864 6 1	864 6 1
Value of Exports in 1791 — £.										306,220 9 11

No. VI.——EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady-Day 1792.

Denominations.		Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value.
Ale	*Barrels.*	—	—	197¼	—	—	—	—	131¼	329	329 0 0
Aquavitæ	*Gallons.*	—	290	—	—	—	—	—	—	290	43 10 0
Bacon. Hams	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	15 0 0	20 0 0	171 1 0	—	—	—	—	42 0 15	248 1 15	471 18 3
Bacon. Flitches	*Flitches.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	40	30 0 0
Beef	*Barrels.*	2,025	3,494	17,995	—	—	1,984	1,371	12,161	39,030	68,302 10 0
Beer	*Barrels*	44	—	523	—	—	—	—	316	883	441 10 0
Bread	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	77 3 0	40 0 0	604 2 12	—	—	48 0 0	30 0 0	730 1 6	1,530 2 18	918 6 0
Bullion	*Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Butter	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1,437 3 11	3,057 3 3	11,996.3.23	—	—	6,220.2.0	288 1 22	7,479 1 4	30,480 3 7	64,772 0 0
Candles	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	398 2 10	549 0 0	1,752 0 6	—	—	329 0 0	216 3 4	1,500 0 0	4,745 1 20	8,858 5 8
Cards, Playing	*Doz. Packs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cheese	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	6 0 0	—	100 3 0	—	—	5 0 0	—	44 3 25	156 2 25	234 15 0
Cordage	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	20 0 0	—	170 0 0	—	—	—	—	392 1 4	582 1 4	815 3 0
Cyder	*Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Barley	*Barrels.*	—	—	4½	—	—	—	—	2½	7	4 4 0
Corn. Beans	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Oats	*Barrels.*	315	500	391	—	—	669	—	2,336½	4,211	1,579 2 6
Corn. Pease	*Barrels.*	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	1½	56	33 12 0
Corn. Wheat	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Drapy. New	Yards.	567	—	364	—	—	—	—	1,100	2,031	253 17 6
Drapy. Old	Yards.	2,198	—	642	—	—	—	—	161	3,001	1,000 6 8
Feathers	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	7 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	7	15 15 0
Fish. Herrings	Barrels.	40	75	2,640	—	—	9	—	1,304	4,068	4,068 0 0
Fish. Ling	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	2 2 18	1 2 17	35 3 12	—	—	5 1 21	—	25 3 25	71 2 9	213 0 0
Fish. Salmon	Tuns, Trs.	9 4½	1 5	11 2	—	—	1 5	—	4 2½	28 3	336 0 0
Flannel	Yards.	1,210	—	300	—	—	—	—	—	1,510	75 10 0
Fustians	Yards.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass. Cases	No.	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	21	31 10 0
Glass. Drinking	Numb.	—	2,072	8,879	—	—	—	—	4,356	15,307	153 0 0
Glass. Ware	Value.	10 0 0	71 7 0	577 10 8	—	—	12 0 0	—	32 10 0	703 7 8	703 7 8
Gloves	Pairs.	1,464	—	1,200	—	—	—	—	—	2,664	399 12 0
Groceries, Small Parcels	Val.	1 2 7	1 16 0	55 11 0	—	—	2 2 0	—	20 9 0	81 0 7	81 0 7
Habery. Thread	Pounds.	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	50	13 15 0
Habery. Small Parcels	Value.	2 0 0	—	38 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	40 0 0	40 0 0
Hair. Cows	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair. Horse	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair Powder	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	12 0 0	14 0 0	344 0 0	—	—	—	—	153 2 18	523 2 18	785 7 0
Hardware	Value.	11 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11 0 0	11 0 0
Hats	Numb.	—	434	634	—	—	—	—	—	1,068	267 0 0
Hogs Lard	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	21 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 1 14	48 1 14	72 11 3
Hides. Tanned	Num.	—	—	38	—	—	—	—	—	38	76 0 0
Hides. Ditto	Cwt. qrs.	—	6 0 0	0 2 8	—	—	—	—	15 2 4	56 3 16	159 4 4
Hides. Untanned	Num.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	9 0 0

(continued.)

—Year ending Lady-Day 1792, *continued.*—

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity	Rate of Value.
Horses - - - - - - *No.*	68	19	—	—	—	—	—	194	281	£1,681 0 0
Iron. Wrought *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	230 0 0	—	—	—	—	92 2 3	322 2 3	644 1 0
Iron. Small Parcels *Value.*	—	1 0 0	2 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	3 10 0	3 10 0
Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - - *Value.*	262 11 10	363 3 2	9,088 4 1	—	—	425 12 0	170 16 0	3,282 17 3	13,593 4 4	13,593 4 4
Linen. Cambric - - *Yards.*	—	—	7,223	—	—	—	—	397	7,620	1,905 0 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain - *Yards.*	151,142½	95,947	836,409	—	—	16,314	—	532,973	1,632,785	108,852 6 8
Linen. Coloured - - *Yards.*	4,898	4,161	28,792	—	—	2,175	—	22,680	62,706	5,094 17 3
Meal. Flour - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	91 2 0	—	—	322 3 21	—	343 2 0	757 3 21	1,010 13 4
Meal. Groats - - *Barrels.*	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	5	5 0 0
Meal. Oatmeal *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	340 0 0	75 0 0	153 1 0	—	—	111 3 0	—	85 2 0	765 2 0	229 13 0
Millinery Ware - *Value.*										
Mutton - - - *Barrels.*										
Oil, Rape *Tuns, Hhds. Gs.*										
Paper, Writing - *Reams.*	215	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	233	69 18 0

Pork - - - - *Barrels.*	1,186	1,299	9,309	—	—	1,133	156½	3,027⅔	16,111	24,166 10 0
Sadlers Ware - - *Value.*	12 0 0	10 0 0	79 3 6	—	—	—	—	12 0 0	113 3 6	113 3 6
Salt - - - - - *Bushels.*	—	—	341	—	—	—	—	—	341	21 6 3
Shoes - - - - *Pounds.*	1,054	1,018	11,190	—	—	498	—	5,973	19,733	4,933 5 0
Soap - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	231 1 0	112 2 0	1,918 1 9	—	—	11 2 0	—	870 1 27	3,144 0 8	5,240 0 0
Skins. Calf - - - *Doz. No.*	—	—	3 0	—	—	—	—	—	3 0	3 10 0
Skins. Goat - *Cwt. qrs. No.*										
Stationary Ware - *Value.*	9 11 0	4 0 0	28 5 6	—	—	0 10 0	—	10 4 0	52 10 6	52 10 6
Stockings. Cotton - - - *Pairs.*										
Stockings. Thread - - - *Pairs.*										
Stockings. Woollen - - *Pairs.*										
Starch - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	10 0 0	5 0 0	96 0 0	—	—	7 0 0	—	52 1 0	170 1 0	238 7 0
Stone Blue.										
Tallow - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	5 0 0	92 0 14	246 0 13	—	—	32 0 3	3 0 0	61 1 5	439 2 7	879 0 0
Tongues - - - *Dozens.*	104 3	161 0	1,248 0	—	—	89 0	43 0	553 0 0	2,198 3 0	1,374 7 6
Upholstery Ware - *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	72 0 0	—	—	72 0 0	72 0 0
Wax Candles *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	16 2 24	—	—	—	—	1 2 16	18 1 12	155 0 0
Small Parcels in general *Value.*	57 19 6	64 9 1	283 17 4	—	—	105 7 4	5 5 0	340 17 5	857 15 8	857 15 8

Value of EXPORTS in 1792 — £. 326,794 12 5

No. VII.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity and Value of all GOODS Imported from the *West Indies* into the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the Years 1790, 1791, 1792.

IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady-Day 1790.

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Brass, Shruff *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	2 0 21	—	—	—	2 0 21	£. 7 2 6
Bullion - - - - *Ounces.*	—	—	192	—	—	150	342	114 0 0
Chocolate - - - - *lbs.*								
Coffee - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	7 0 14	—	301 3 0	—	—	85 2 14	394 0 2	3,940 0 0
Copper Plates and Bricks *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Drugs - - - - *Value.*	27 17 0	43 19 2	242 19 0	—	—	69 15 0	384 10 2	384 10 2
Dying Stuffs. Fustic - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	400 0 0	400 1 0	—	—	260 0 0	1,060 1 0	742 3 6
Dying Stuffs. Indigo - - - - *lbs.*	—	—	160	—	—	—	160	53 6 8
Dying Stuffs. Logwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	40 0 0	—	1,477 3 0	—	—	20 0 0	1,537 3 0	3,459 18 9
Dying Stuffs. Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs. Sanders - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs. Small Parcels - *Value.*	—	28 0 0	100 0 0	—	—	—	128 0 0	128 0 0
Groceries. Anniseeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	220 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	220 1 7	293 15 0
Groceries. Cocoa Nuts - - *lbs.*	—	—	2,687	—	—	10,577	13,264	663 4 0
Groceries. Ginger - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	71 1 21	40 0 21	—	—	0 1 7	111 3 21	167 18 1
Groceries. Pepper - - *Pounds.*	—	—	211	—	—	—	211	14 1 4
Groceries. Piamento - - *Pounds.*	—	—	10,890	—	—	—	10,890	544 10 0
Groceries. Rice - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Groceries. Succard - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	50 0 0	377 0 0	386½	—	—	108½	922 0 0	138 6 0
Groceries. Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13,738 0 7	2,777 2 0	11,628 0 0	887 3 7	—	6,221 2 21	35,253 0 7	79,319 5 0
Groceries. Small Parcels - *Value.*	20 2 0	8 19 2	83 19 0	—	—	15 9 2	128 9 4	[illegible] 9 4

Hides, tanned - *Number.*								
Lime, Lemon, and O-Juice *Gallons.*								
Molasses - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Oranges and Lemons *Cwt. qrs. No.*	22 0							
Skins, Losh - - *Numb.*	—	—	10	—	—	6	16	8 0 0
Spirits, Rum - - *Gallons.*	80,114	13,098	362,003	16,664	—	161,372	633,251	63,325 2 0
Tar - - - - - - *Barrels.*	—	47	—	—	—	—	47	28 4 0
Tobacco - - - *Pounds.*	—	—	—	—	—	3,130	3,130	78 5 0
Toys - - - - *Value.*	—	—	9 17 0	—	—	5 2 3	14 19 3	14 19 3
Wine, Port *Tuns, Hbds. Galls.*	1 0 10½	—	19 3 0	—	—	1 3 21	22 2 31	540 0 0
Wood. Barrel Staves *Cwt. qrs. No.*	191 0 0	80 0 0	221 1 0	—	—	2,150 0 0	2,642 1 0	660 11 3
Wood. Deals - *Cwt. qrs. No.*	—	—	20 0 0	—	—	—	20 0 0	84 0 0
Wood. Plank - - - *Value.*	—	—	62 10 0	—	—	—	62 10 0	62 10 0
Wood. Timber - *Tons. Feet.*								
Wood. Wooden Ware - *Value.*	—	—	1,806 10 0	—	—	490 0 0	2,296 10 0	2,296 10 0
Wool, Cotton *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	19 2 14	176 0 7	1,345 0 21	89 0 14	—	1,453 1 0	3,083 1 0	12,333 0 0
Small Parcels in general *Val.*	4 7 0	—	0 10 0	—	—	—	4 17 0	4 17 0

Rate of Value of IMPORTS in 1790 — £. 169,563 8 10

No. VII. *continued.*——IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady Day 1791.

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Brass, Shruff - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Bullion - - - - *Ounces*								
Chocolate - - - - *lbs.*								
Coffee - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	296 2 21	—	—	112 0 0	408 2 21	£4,086 17 6
Copper-Plates and Bricks *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Drugs - - - - *Value.*	7 16 8	33 6 0	160 16 0	—	—	730 19 2	932 17 10	932 17 10
Dying Stuffs. Fustick - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	200 0 0	—	420 0 0	—	—	1,260 0 0	1,880 0 0	1,316 0 0
Indigo - - - - *lbs.*								
Logwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	3,070 0 0	—	—	450 0 0	3,520 0 0	7,920 0 0
Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Sanders - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	34 0 0	34 0 0	204 0 0
Small Parcels - *Value.*	—	5 0 0	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	5 0 0
Groceries. Annifeeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Cocoa Nuts - - *lbs.*	—	192	316	—	—	8,073	8,581	429 1 0
Ginger - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	137 0 14	25 2 0	—	—	—	162 2 14	243 18 9
Pepper - - *Pounds.*	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	0 11 0
Piamento - - *Pounds.*	—	—	8,415	—	—	—	8,415	420 15 0
Rice - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	114 1 14	114 1 14	114 7 6
Succard *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	68 0 0	—	457 0 0	—	—	497 0 0	1,022 0 0	153 6 0
Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	11,116 0 9	3,490 3 21	22,904 2 7	—	—	18,296 2 0	55,808 0 9	125,568 0 0
Small Parcels - *Value.*	5 10 10	2 16 6	19 18 2	—	—	42 2 4	70 7 10	70 7 10

Hides, tanned - - *Number.*								
Lime, Lemon, and O-Juice *Gallons.*	—	—	—	—	—	62	62	7 4 8
Molaffes - *Cwt. qrs. lbs*	—	—	—	—	—	315 1 0	315 1 0	472 17 6
Oranges and Lemons *Cwt. qrs. No.*	10 0 0	1 0 0	32 0 0	—	—	7 0 0	50 0 0	6 5 0
Skins, Losh - - - *Numb.*	—	—	79	—	—	—	79	39 10 0
Spirits, Rum - - - *Gallons.*	39,425	11,343	249,884	3,318	—	135,414	439,384	43,938 8 0
Tar - - - - - *Barrels.*								
Tobacco - - - *Pounds.*								
Toys - - - - - *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	17 10 0	17 10 0	17 10 0
Wine, Port *Tuns, Hbds. Galls.*	—	—	21 3 10½	—	—	9 3 31	22 2 31	516 0 0
Wood. Barrel Staves *Cwt. qrs. No.*	206 0 0	470 1 20	691 3 0	—	—	178 2 10	1,546 3 0	386 13 9
Wood. Deals - *Cwt. qrs. No.*								
Wood. Plank - - - *Value.*	10 0 0	—	69 10 0	—	—	—	79 10 0	79 10 0
Wood. Timber - *Tons, Feet.*	—	—	—	—	—	10 0 0	10 0 0	27 10 0
Wood. Wooden Ware - *Value.*	110 0 0	—	1,964 13 0	—	—	10,483 0 0	12,557 13 0	12,557 13 0
Wool, Cotton *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	194 0 0	97 3 0	2,348 0 14	294 3 21	—	1,785 2 21	4,720 2 0	18,882 0 0
Small Parcels in general *Val.*	192 17 6	—	—	—	—	—	192 17 6	192 17 6
							Value of IMPORTS in 1791 — £.	218,589 1 10

No. VII. *continued.*——IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady-Day 1792.

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Brass, Shruff - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Bullion - - - - *Ounces.*								
Chocolate - - - - *lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	36	36	4 10 0
Coffee - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	2 1 7	390 2 25	—	—	270 2 13	663 2 17	6,636 8 7
Copper Plates and Bricks *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	6 2 25	—	—	—	6 2 25	33 11 6
Drugs - - - - *Value.*	3 1 8	34 5 0	321 3 3	—	—	99 13 1	458 3 0	458 3 0
Dying Stuffs. Fustick - *Cwt. qrs. lbs*	500 0 0	40 0 0	850 0 0	100 0 0	—	2,000 0 0	3,490 0 0	2,443 0 0
Indigo - - - *lbs.*	—	—	530	—	—	—	530	176 13 4
Logwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	3,735 0 0	—	—	420 0 0	4,155 0 0	9,348 15 0
Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	340 0 0	340 0 0	680 0 0
Sanders *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Small Parcels - *Value.*	—	11 4 0	—	—	—	—	11 4 0	11 4 0
Groceries. Annifeeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Cocoa Nuts - - *lbs.*	—	—	600	—	—	1,344	1,944	97 4 0
Ginger *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	17 3 6	108 2 16	—	—	—	126 1 22	189 13 1
Pepper - - *Pounds.*	6	16	73	—	—	179	274	18 5 4
Piamento - *Pounds.*	—	—	13,132	—	—	552	13,684	669 4 0
Rice - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	482 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	482 1 7	482 6 3
Succard - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	59 0 0	153 0 0	249 0 0	10 0 0	—	293 0 0	764 0 0	114 12 0
Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	8,845 3 27	2,311 3 27	35,893 1 3	839 2 11	—	18,633 1 19	66,524 1 3	149,679 11 9
Small Parcels - *Value.*	21 9 2	3 3 4	21 9 5	0 10 0	—	72 0 4	118 12 3	118 12 3